



The Antiquary.



SEPTEMBER, 1902.

Notes of the Month.

THEIR Majesties King Edward VII. and Queen Alexandra were crowned in Westminster Abbey on Saturday, August 9. That is the one great event of the month in the eyes of every subject of the Crown, whether at home or in the British dominions beyond the seas. Full accounts of every detail of the intensely solemn and suggestive ceremony have been given in the newspapers, so that there is no necessity to dwell upon them here. Antiquaries, more perhaps than other folk, have been keenly interested in a service which is so richly symbolical, so charged with memories of the storied past; and with full and loyal hearts they join in those shrill shouts of the Westminster boys, the echoes of which are still ringing round the world: "Vivat Rex Edwardus! Vivat, vivat, vivat!" "Vivat Regina Alexandra! Vivat, vivat, vivat!"

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In the *Builder* of August 9, Mr. Cyril Davenport, F.S.A., writing on "The English Crown," remarks that it is likely enough that one of the first forms of actual diadem was a string of beads. The earliest ornament of any kind into which man put any constructive ability was most likely a necklace of naturally pierced shells. Indeed, the earliest known human skeleton—one found in a cave near Mentone—actually had a necklace of pierced shells and teeth sticking to it. Whether first on some occasion such a necklace was made too small for its recipient, and stuck fast on his head with artistic effect, or whether, on the other hand, a diadem was made too big and slipped down accidentally

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on to the owner's shoulders, will never be known; but however it arrived, it seems, on the evidence of coins, that our early Kings actually wore coronets of strings of beads. No remains of such diadems now exist, so conjectures as to their actual construction cannot well be checked; but there is plenty of documentary evidence as to head fillets of some soft material having had a long reign as marks of authority. Alexander the Great wore one with which he bound up a wounded friend. At a period in our English history somewhere about the tenth century the beaded fillet certainly gave way to a solid metal circlet. This change was possibly due to the wish of Kings to wear some distinct mark of their rank in battle. The beaded or soft fillet would neither look well nor last well on a helmet, so we find that on a penny of Æthelstan his helmet is adorned with a solid circlet bearing three pearls on raised stems; the entire coronet may be supposed to have had four of these pearls. From this standpoint the growth of the ornamentation on our English crown can be followed with some certainty. The next coronet after that of Æthelstan to show any true development is figured on the Great Seal of William I., where the single pearls on their stalks have become triplicated.

Mr. Davenport's interesting article is illustrated with drawings, by Mr. R. W. Paul, of ancient coronets and of mediæval crowns as figured in glass, stone, and wood.



"At the beginning of May last," says Signor Lanciani in a letter to the *Athenæum*, "the Chapter of the Cathedral of Pescia (Tuscany) sold at a nominal price to an astute dealer a magnificent set of old Genoese velvet and trimmings, without the consent of the proper authorities. News of this shameful transaction having reached the Public Prosecutor, the eight Canons of Pescia and the dealer were denounced before the local magistrate and condemned to a fine of 16,500 lire. I must say that all the efforts made by the Government to stop this base and greedy spoliation of our churches, which has been going on for years from one end to the other of the Peninsula, have failed before the indifference—nay, the opposition—of the Papal Curia. The State, learned societies, and

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even the last Congress of Sacred Archaeology, presided over by several Princes of the Church, have over and over again begged the Vatican to put a stop to these systematic robberies of the houses of God, but without result. An understanding on this point is bound to come, only there will be nothing left worth preserving."

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The Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A., St. Mary's Church, Star-of-the-Sea, Irishtown, Dublin, announces for early publication, at the price of £1, his *History of the Queen's County*, one of the many Irish counties of which as yet no history has been printed. Canon O'Hanlon has been collecting materials for this work for many years past, and the prospectus promises a very full and comprehensive history. Copies of the prospectus can be obtained of, and subscriptions sent to, either the author or the publishers, Messrs. Sealy, Bryers and Walker, Middle Abbey Street, Dublin.

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The finds of the month are not of very special importance. Lord Bolton, the owner of the ruins of Basing House, Hampshire, famous for its two years' siege during the Civil War, has lately been excavating with a body of workmen, and has made some interesting discoveries. These comprise a gateway, the foundations of a turret with spiral staircase, a finely carved classic head, with moulding in excellent state of preservation, and a number of grotesques, which probably ornamented the house and grinn'd down at Queen Elizabeth and Cromwell. The cellar, which once may have contained some of the innumerable hogsheads of wine and beer which remained at the close of the siege, has also been dug out. Among the relics found were two cannon-balls and several fragments of the heavy shells and grenades. A correspondent of the *East Anglian Daily Times* of August 5 mentions discoveries made on the Corn Hill, Ipswich, where bones were exhumed "of the ox, sheep, pig, goat, etc., with a considerable number of the antlers of the stag, having the appearance of being sawn to pieces for some particular purpose or use. With these were discovered fragments of the funeral or cinerary urns, oyster shells, etc. These were all embedded in a stratum of de-

composed charcoal and ashes, fully illustrating that a sacrifice of these animals must have taken place upon the identical spot."

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Mr. W. C. Banks writes: "With regard to the note on p. 195 of the *Antiquary*, I beg to enclose a tracing of a rubbing I made of John de Campden's brass a few months ago, consisting of his initials and the date only (1410). It is in the floor at the east



end of the nave of Holy Cross Church, Winchester." We reproduce the date above. Another correspondent, Mr. C. C. Falkingham, writing from Paris, referring to the form given to the figure 4 in some fifteenth-century dates, mentions that "Laud MS. 722, Bodleian Library, folio 97 bis, has the date 12 Stephen written ii9A". This MS. is in a hand of about 1440-50. In this case the inverted v would appear to stand for 7."

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The neglect of the Government to keep in proper repair the monuments in Venice is causing much bad feeling among the citizens. There was recently (Reuter's correspondent at Venice writes) a panic in the Church of San Giovanni Paolo, a fine building in Gothic style, owing to the fall of the capital of one of the small columns from the famous Vivarini painted glass window over the right side gate, called "The Gate of the Dead." The priest celebrating Mass left the altar, and the congregation dispersed hurriedly. The window will be repaired at once, and scaffolding is already erected. The church has not been closed. On inspection some cracks and fissures were found on the walls. A grate in the sacristy, the stuccoes of the "Addolorata" Chapel, and some monuments, chiefly those of Valier and Bragadin, urgently require repairs. Although the Commission declared that there was no danger of the church's collapsing, the Venetians are naturally anxious that it should be kept in perfect order, for, besides other prominent

monuments and works of art, the church contains the remains of twenty-one Doges, and is considered as a Venetian Pantheon. Repairs and works for strengthening the bell-towers and churches of San Francesco della Vigna and San Giobbe have been ordered. Doubts have also been expressed concerning the safety of the beautiful leaning campanile of San Stefano, which was built in 1544, and is over 200 feet high. Its demolition is objected to by the architects, and the Commission is considering whether the tower can be strengthened.

Another Venetian correspondent says that the technical Commission, presided over by the architect Signor Boni, have inspected the buildings in the Piazza, and they have ascertained that each pillar of the old arcades supports a weight of about 3,500 kilos, or 300 kilos per square centimetre, which is the maximum limit a pillar can carry. In order to stop the subsidences and cracks it is indispensable to strengthen the wooden, metal, and mural supports, ignorantly weakened or cut out by the proprietors, and not to allow any further wounds to be inflicted on the pillars and columns. The Commission advised the lightening of the rooms containing excessive weights to reduce the pressure on the pillars within the limit of perfect safety. The Commission then examined the clock tower, and found that the whole weight is borne by the pillars. There is no apprehension for its safety, but the pillars should not be tampered with in any way. With regard to the Doges' Palace, the immediate transfer of the volumes of the St. Mark's library to the Zecca building and the removal of the statuary collection of the museum were ordered.

A new and most ingenious method of fraud has lately been brought to light in Vienna. The directors of museums and collectors of antiquities have within the past year or so found it possible to acquire a large number of "Roman" articles in amber, many of them most beautifully wrought in a large number of sections and dovetailed together with the greatest skill. A recent very close investigation, however, has revealed unmistakable traces of tobacco in these "remains,"

and finally they have all been discovered to be Greek handiwork, not ancient, but very modern indeed. The "antiquities" have been pieced together out of old cigar and cigarette holders, and some of them as works of art pure and simple are said to be not without value.

The writer of an interesting article on "Old-Time Scots Funerals" in a recent issue of the *Scotsman* says: "A 'decent funeral'—which the poorest Scot still desires and prepares for—usually meant in the old days abundance of hospitality. The higher the social standing of the deceased, the more varied were the eatables, and especially the drinkables; but the least pretentious had a recognised standard they felt compelled to reach. In addition to the usual thick oat-cakes or bannocks and cheese, special bread was baked, known as 'burial bread,' a stock of whisky was laid in, and new pipes and tobacco were bought. I have by me as I write the account of the 'merchant' for goods supplied on the occasion of the death of my own grandfather. For a humble farming household, which neither smoked nor drank, the following bill, the items of which I transcribe, as they may be of interest, may seem large, especially as the funeral took place in a thinly-populated countryside, but I understand it represents a fair average:

1834.		£	s.	d.
May 12.	To 3 pints whisky	...	0	3 7½
"	" ½ pound tea	...	0	1 5
"	" 1 pound sugar	...	0	0 8
"	" ½ pound tobacco	...	0	0 11½
"	" 1 dozen pipes	...	0	0 2½
May 13.	" 2 pounds candles, 7½d.	...	0	1 3
May 14.	" 2 gallons whisky, 9s. 6d.	...	0	19 0
"	" ½ pound tobacco	...	0	0 11½
"	" 1 dozen pipes	...	0	0 2½
May 16.	" 6 gallons whisky, 9s. 6d.	...	2	17 0
"	" ½ pound tobacco	...	0	0 11½

My grandfather died early on the morning of the 13th, and was buried on the 16th; this explains the order of the purchases. Tea and 'a drop' for the neighbours with a view to 'sitting up' with the dying man, this on 12th; candles on 13th for the three nights' 'Lyke'; whisky and tobacco for visitors on 14th; more whisky and tobacco against the funeral on 16th. The desire to have no appearance of stint on the great occasion is

shown by the fact that the bill allows for 'whisky returned £1 19s. 9½d.' Wine at that time and in that district was a 'temperance' drink!"



A curious case of the desecration of a grave by a superstitious population is reported by the *'Standard's'* Vienna correspondent from the district of Rogatza in Bosnia. A peasant living in a village called Hrenovicza committed suicide by hanging himself. Shortly afterwards a severe drought set in, which threatened to destroy the crops. The peasants held a council, and, connecting the drought with the man's suicide, resolved to open the grave and pour water on the corpse, in order that this might bring the longed-for rain. Their intentions were carried out, and the grave was then filled again, after prayer had been offered. The rain, however, did not come, and the villagers who had taken part in this curious rite have been arrested by the gendarmes



The King has been graciously pleased to accept, through Mr. Bernard Quaritch, a copy of Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt's new monograph on the literary and personal history of Shakespeare.



The annual meeting of the Kent Archaeological Society was held at Rye on July 29 and 30. On the first day Rye Church was visited, the fabric being carefully described by Mr. J. Borrowman, and a paper on the romance of the building read by the Rev. G. N. Godwin. The Landgate was next seen, Mr. Sands remarking that this was the finest landgate remaining in the South of England, with the exception of Westgate at Canterbury. It formerly had a portcullis, or drawbridge, and the remains of a fine stone machicolis were to be seen over the gate. Edward III. granted the license to fortify the town and build the gate in 1369, and low arches were cut through in the west tower below the loops for early cannon. Mr. Sands also pointed out the original line of the town wall, which ran from Westcliff end to the Strand Gate, and from there round to Baddyng's Gate. This gate was, with several streets, washed away, the town and cliff formerly extending over 100 yards

further eastward. After lunch the parish church of Winchelsea and Icklesham Church were visited. In the evening two addresses were given, one by Mr. P. M. Johnston on "The Old Timber Houses of Kent and Sussex," the other by the Rev. W. Marshall on "The Wooden Roofs of our Churches." Both were illustrated by means of lantern slides. Mr. Johnston made an appeal to the society to do its utmost to save the old timber houses which were dotted about the county of Kent. Unless some special attention were paid them they would, he was afraid, vanish rapidly. He knew of no complete house of the thirteenth century either in Kent or Sussex, but there were far more of the fourteenth century still remaining than many people supposed.

On the second day visits were made to the churches at Wittersham, Tenterden, High Halden, Bethersden, and Great Chart. The most interesting feature of High Halden Church is the wooden tower. The Rev. G. M. Livett fully described the church. The tower, he said, consisted of two stages and a spire. It was composed of four great balks of timber, which were really roughly-squared trunks of trees, 20 inches in thickness at the bottom, and 12 inches at the top either way. These ran right up from the foundation to the eaves of the spire, a distance of 40 feet, rising, so to speak, in four angles or corners. To give the tower stability, it had tied buttresses, likewise consisting of balks of timber, and these were enclosed in a case of octagonal form. The porch on the south side of the church was also worth studying. It had beautiful bargeboards in the gable, with cinquefoil carving. Both sides of the porch were likewise of great beauty. On one side the spandrels contained quatrefoils, while on the other the design consisted of upright arches. Inside, the features of the church were the square rectangular nave with the arcade of three arches, evidently of Perpendicular date. This arcade was not on the original line of the outer wall, of the existence of which there was proof, there being the remains of the angle of the original nave building. The arcade replaced an earlier one, which replaced the original wall of the church, so that the common plan of church building

of the twelfth century was arrived at. Somerset archæologists held their annual meeting at Glastonbury, under the presidency of the Dean of Wells. We cannot attempt to give a detailed account of the proceedings, extending over three days, in the course of which many churches and other places of interest were visited, and many papers were read. At the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey Canon Holmes spoke. He said that the interest in the abbey consisted in its connection of English with British Christianity. The earliest historian, William of Malmesbury, spoke of four churches surrounded by the buildings of the abbey. Those churches owed their origin—the first to the disciples of St. Philip and St. James, the second to St. David, the third to some unknown disciples from Britain, and the fourth to St. Aldhelm and Ina. William of Malmesbury knew nothing of St. Joseph of Arimathea, but Arthur was to him a historic warrior of the ancient Welsh. What he said about the legendary Arthur and the Holy Grail was of later interpolation. When Dunstan was abbot, in the middle of the tenth century, he was said to have rebuilt all except the old church, so that by the time of the Conquest there were only two churches—the old *Vetusta Ecclesia* and Dunstan's church to the east of it. The old church seemed to centre in itself all the legends, which grew more definite as they were separated by time from the events connected with them. In the thirteenth century the Grail legends took definite form, and got woven into the Arthur legend, and definitely located at Glastonbury. In 1278 Edward I. paid a visit, and, wanting to find Arthur, he was, of course, dug up with the lead tablet describing the fact that "These are the bones of Arthur." In 1345 the Joseph of Arimathea connection with the Holy Grail and with Glastonbury Abbey reached its perfection of definiteness. John Blome, of London, obtained a license by patent roll to search for the remains of Joseph, and of course he found them; and from the end of the fourteenth century to the Dissolution the Lady Chapel at the west of the great church, formerly called the old church, became known in the popular mind as St. Joseph's Chapel. Let them account for the strange

antiquity of the legends. Avalon and Glastonbury were later forms of a mythical pedigree of ancient Celtic lore. *Avall* and *Galst* were gods of the lower world, and gods of the lower world were connected with the fairy world. So the Island across the Summer Seas came to be known as the Glassy Island, the Island of the Fairies—*Yngo-Wytryn*.

At the evening meeting on the first day Prebendary Daniel gave particulars of the churchwardens' accounts of St. John's, Glastonbury. He quoted Mr. Bulleid's assertion that the churchwardens of St. John's held an almost unique position among the churchwardens of England, and for more than 600 years they had been a corporate body with a seal. At one time the wardens received 6s. 8d. annually, and about 1484 that amount was increased to 10s. 5d. for each, on account of their diligence. Many quaint entries in the accounts were mentioned by the speaker, among them being money received for letting out torches for funerals, letting seats in the church, and occasionally selling graves in the church. There were entries of sums received from plays acted. Some interesting particulars were given of the expenditure of the church funds. In 1500 they resealed the church, and no craftsmen were to be had nearer than Bristol. David Carver undertook the work for £41, paid in two instalments; but with carriage, etc., the amount came to £65. David and two men accompanied the worked wood, which was put in boats at the Back. The boats proceeded to Rook's Mill, in the parish of South Brent. Thirteen boats hired at Meare brought half the load, and thirteen waggons brought the other part from thence, the whole time occupied being a week. No point of general history came before them in the accounts, and he supposed all that concerned the country at large drifted towards the abbey, and the people of St. John's were not concerned in it. The accounts, however, possessed an interest concerning the way in which the church was managed and the life of the townfolk.



Some fourteenth-century fragments of the "*Nibelungenlied*," says the *Athenæum*, have been discovered inside the cover of an old parish register at Rosenheim. The book

which contained this valuable padding dates from the year 1649. Herr Eid, the town archivist, after carefully taking the cover to pieces, found seven leaves of parchment, each of which, to judge from two of the leaves which are completely uninjured, must have originally contained twenty-eight lines of manuscript, in which the journey to Worms is related. The other five leaves are imperfect. These fragments have been sent to Professor Braune, of Heidelberg, for his inspection and report.

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The Roads and Bridges Committee of the Wilts County Council had decided to recommend to that body at the quarterly meeting at Trowbridge on August 5 not to take over the powers and duties of the Amesbury Rural District Council in regard to the obstruction of alleged rights of way at Stonehenge. It was also expected that an important letter would be read from Mr. G. Shaw-Lefevre, chairman of the Commons and Footpaths Preservation Society, suggesting that the council should guarantee £600 of the costs of legal proceedings in vindication of the rights of the public. However, at the outset of the council's business, the chairman, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, M.P., announced that he had received a letter from Sir Edmund Antrobus. The actual text of the communication he could not, without leave, communicate to the council; but, in his opinion, the letter opened up a reasonable prospect of a successful negotiation by purchase, and it invited him to meet Sir Edmund in order to go into the matter. Under those circumstances, it was his deliberate conviction that any discussion on rights of way and other burning questions was unnecessary and risky, and likely to interfere with the negotiations to which he had alluded, for it was to purchase that he thought they should have to look for a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. The matter was accordingly deferred.

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The *Graphic* of August 9 had some interesting pictures of the extensive excavations now being made at Ephesus, showing the remains of the theatre mentioned in Acts xix., the ruins of the Forum, of the Magnesian Gate, and of the Great Gymnasium.

The "Mark" of the Mercians.

BY THE REV. W. BERESFORD,

Author of *A History of the Diocese of Lichfield*, etc.



ENRY OF HUNTINGDON tells us that Crida was the first King of Mercia. Crida, however, was scarcely a King at all, and it was only in the days of his greater grandson Penda that the West Engle King became entitled to hold up his head in England. Before Penda's time the West Engle people had not established themselves in North Staffordshire; they were checked both by the greater power of Northumbria and by the vigilance of the British who still held Cheshire, as well as by the character of the ground noted below. And when after the Battle of Chester, 607, Northumbria annexed Cheshire, the Mid Engle was itself downtrodden by East Anglia. It was not until 626, when, as a man of fifty years of age, Penda the Strong came to the Mid Engle throne, that any hope of reaching the coveted boundary of the Welsh "March" above the Upper Trent presented itself.

In 628 Penda made an alliance with Cadwallon, King of North Wales or Gwynedd, and together, in 633, they overthrew Northumbria, and then settled this country between them, Cheshire going back to the British.* The kingdom of the Mark or Mercia was then permanently established.

To the alliance I believe we owe the curious arrangement of ancient boundary lines on Gun, the hill north of Leek. That hill overlooks Cheshire right away from its eastern boundary, the Dane, to the sea, and commands the roads into the Peak. Along the hill from north to south runs the rigid line of a Roman road, and another road again—that from Chester to Lincoln—crosses the hill from west to east, a Roman block-house, or small fort some 70 yards square, lying at the junction of these roads. It was Penda's wont to fight along the lines of the old Roman roads; and in this instance he was endeavouring to make the line—suggested by Mr. Barns as the *Limes Britannicus*—his northern base. Penda, says Nennius, "first

* See Green's *Making of England*, 269. But see also Ormerod's *Cheshire* (new edition), i. 49.

separated the kingdom of Mercia from the Northmen" (sect. 65).

This hill of Gun is divided into two equal parts by an undoubtedly ancient boundary-line of vallum and foss, which rises from the Dane, near Beardhall Mill, and ascends straight as an arrow almost to a point behind Rudyard on the western face of Gun,* running almost parallel with the old Roman road track. Thence it strikes out eastwardly to the other side of the hill, and then makes south again, leaving apparently one-half the hill in Mercia and the other half in Gwynedd. A large force of either nation could thus watch a considerable tract of the dominions of the other. Penda on the western face of Gun could camp with assembled thousands ready to rush down into Cheshire. Cadwallon, with equal thousands, might sit encamped overlooking roads which led into the heart of Mercia. And Cadwallon it was, from the position of the ditch, who built the rampart. Such a state of things could only be a matter of amicable arrangement, and this we know was made when Penda and Cadwallon had overcome Eadwine.

Geoffrey of Monmouth is not a historian of much credit, but he tells us more of Penda than anybody else. He says that Penda first allied himself with Cadwallon at the siege of Exeter, when the British King defeated him there. But two facts seem to put the alliance

in North Staffordshire. All historians agree that the Mid Engle found it extremely difficult to cut their way past the wilds of Needwood and Cannock to the Upper Trent. Strong British fortresses guarded the rivers. The Churnet Valley was impassable—as it still is, except by the railway—whilst a strong British element is indicated by the place-names which have survived here, as well as by the fact that the Leek district of North Staffordshire has always been closely linked with British Cheshire. The Norman Earls of Chester made Leek one of their headquarters. It must have been by his notorious diplomacy that Penda got his foothold here. He made terms with the Britons. And the Saxon name of this great hill, Gun—*gunth, battle*—seems to show that it was here that Penda fell into Cadwallon's hands. The hill is open to attack from Cheshire, which it overlooks; and on its eastern slopes are the savage Heys—where traces of battle are ploughed up—the Hungry Hills, and the Hostage Lane. The great valley in which these places lie has always been emphatically "The Frith." The giving of hostages by Penda was, according to Geoffrey, a feature of the great peace which followed the fight; whilst two huge mounds, one at Haddon, near the head of the Meer-brook, and the other at Heaton Lowe, on the eastern slope of Gun, seem to hide the dead of either side.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle never speaks of the kingdom of the "Mercians" before Penda's day; but after his death, in 655, "the Mercians became Christians," and "Peada, the son of Penda, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians." Bede (Book ii, ch. xx.) distinctly makes Penda become King of Mercia in 633, when, with Cadwallon, he overthrew Northumbria. Penda, he says, "from that time governed that nation" (the Mercians) "twenty-two years with varying success." And yet the Chronicle gives 626 as the date of Penda's accession. The conclusion is, I think, inevitable that, though Penda became King of Mid-England in 626, he only called himself King of Mercia after 633.

Some of the old Cheshire historians quaintly tell us that Mercia derived its name from the boundary line around it. This line was called the March, and may now be called

* Anyone wishing to follow this line from the Dane to the Churnet would leave the Dane just below Dane Bridge and follow the brook, which comes into the river under the second wire bridge at Beardhall. Beardhall, formerly Bird Holme, is pronounced *Beardha*, a word closely akin to *Border*. Striking up the brook, southwards, one passes the little Primitive Methodist chapel at Gun End, crosses the Leek and Wincle road, and follows up the brook to the back of the Old Shaw farm. Then the hollow becomes both foss and vallum, and running—still up the hill—south, goes along the top of the Shaw fields, past White Shaw farm, till it is lost for a time in the debris thrown out of the great Shaw stone-pits. Crossing the Rushton and Meerbrook road just east of Red Shaw farm, it is lost for a field, and then becomes very plain—vallum and two fosses—till it gets to the head of the brook running down to Pack Saddle Hollow. From that point it strikes south-east across the Black Plantation to Mr. Carter's common, and the Meer brook flows out of its foss. Just above Haddon Farm it is very strongly marked, and may be traced thence to Leek Abbey, and over the Churnet across Ball Haye Park to the town of Leek.

the Mark, they say—just as "land-march" is now "land-mark." But since all kingdoms must have had boundary lines round them, there could be nothing so distinctive in that as to give this kingdom its name. But when we find a part of the boundary still existing as the Mark, and know that the acquiring of the tract adjacent to it was the object of the ambition of the first who called himself King of Mercia, we get a strong reason for coupling these facts together. And whilst in his old age Penda committed the Mid Engle to his son Peada, he still retained Mercia proper in his own hands. Here he may have lived till his last fatal march on Northumbria—probably at the beautiful and historic domain of Swythamley, at the northern end of Gun.

The remains of the Mark are, of course, plainest where the land is poor, and lies still in a state of Nature. But on the northern slope of Gun a spring of water has been turned into the ditch of the Mark, which has made an incision along the length of the hill, of which the engineer Brindley might have been proud. Yet as one looks at the mass of earth which has been cut out by the stream—now in dry weather scarcely a trickle—one notes that the human hand has sometime helped it; for close under the Roman road, and overlooking the Cheshire plain, a hollow has been cut out which would shelter a small army or hide a considerable herd of cattle. This hollow lies almost due east of Toft Hall, and was in the days of the old flint-locks popularly called "The Touch-hole of Gun."

"Mercia" is called by Walter of Coventry the "Merkenerike,"* or Kingdom of the Mark. Through the earthwork of which I am speaking, and where it overlooks the valley of Leekfrith, a stream breaks which gathers volume as it descends, and presently runs by the village of Meerbrook, "the boundary brook." But the inhabitants formerly always called the village "Marbruck," the "Mark-brook"; and this fact is the finger which points to these remarkable earthworks being "the Mark."

From the point just mentioned on the Mark-brook the boundary line runs south, here and there ploughed up and broken down, but on the whole easily traceable to

* Walter of Coventry, *Memor.*, i. 2.

the Abbey Dieulacres, where it suddenly sweeps round the northern and eastern sides of another Roman block-house. And here, again, we notice an important junction of roads, yet this time not as before, on the hill. The Roman road has come down from the hill-top, where we saw it last, into the valley straight as a line.

Doubtless the Mark passed south over the Churnet and roughly followed the line of the Roman *limes*. Earthworks and place-names show this. South of Leek is the manor of "The Wall." We have here traced it from the Dane to the Churnet over the hill which overlooks both Cheshire and North Staffordshire—a hill divided equally and remarkably by this Saxon boundary. It was a hill which lay at a critical junction of two great kingdoms, and must have been coveted by both.

I have suggested that Penda took the name of his kingdom, latinized as "Mercia," from this Mark, where it divided him from the Northmen of Cheshire and Northumbria. May I throw out another suggestion? Just as he adapted the ancient Roman *limes* to his own purposes, so also he appropriated the old sanctuary at Arborlow, in these hills (twelve miles away to the east), to his own use as a Parliament House. There, I think, on the three central stones sate the King with his ally, or overlord, and his underling; whilst on the thirty flat stones around sate the "thirty famous British chiefs" who marched with their "thirty legions," or "thirty British nations," as the various Chronicles tell us, under Penda's banner in his last days. "Penda the Strong" was so strong because he conciliated his neighbours as diligently as he attacked his foes.



Some Italian Invocations.

By E. C. VANSITTART.



INCANTATIONS, magic formulas, talismans, and spells against evil we are wont to look upon in these days as belonging to past ages, when witchcraft was still in force, joining hands with gross ignorance and superstition; yet even at the present day we have to go no

further than Italy to discover that practices exist which appear incredible in this twentieth century. It is chiefly in Southern and Central Italy that these abound, but there is no part of the peninsula in which specimens may not be found; it suffices to go off the highroad, and every village and hamlet will provide a rich mine of strange invocations and magic prayers for the student who has the patience and leisure to inquire into the subject, some of them being so weird and curious that it is difficult to realize they are actually in daily use among the lower orders, who have implicit faith in their efficacy, though, to our mind, some of these formulas seem little short of profanation. When transcribed into English they lose much of their force, which, however, I have tried to retain by a free rendering rather than a translation of the actual words.

Ermelao Rubieri, in his history of popular Italian poetry, says: "It is a common belief that a special form of prayer mechanically recited, or even merely carried in writing on the person, has the power to preserve from temporal and eternal ills." One such used in the Friuli district ends thus:

A cu ch' a diis cheste raçion,
Un an tornâat con devoçion,
Les puartes dell' infierr saràn serrades,
E chées dal paradès davientes spalancaes.

*For him who through the year
This prayer with true devotion says,
The gates of hell shall closed be,
While those of Paradise wide open fall.*

An invocation addressed to St. Clare, in common use in Lombardy, concludes with these words:

Gesù bell e Gesù bon,
Oh! che bella ôrazion!
Chi la sa, e chi la dis,
Andarà in Paradis,
Chi nô la sa, e nô la intend,
Al di del giudizi se troverà malcontent.

*Jesu beautiful and Jesu good!
Oh, what a blessed prayer!
He who knows it, he who tells,
Shall to Paradise ascend;
He who knows it not, nor understands,
On the day of judgment shall confounded stand.*

In the neighbourhood of Bergamo there is a prayer which, to be efficacious, must be repeated sixty-three times on bare knees in

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church on Good Friday, as is implied in its closing lines:

Déla o fâla dir de sessantre volte,
Al Venerdè sant coi ginnochi nudi
Sô terà consacrata,
L' anima mèa sarà liberata.

*For sixty-three times on Good Friday to say it,
Or let it be said while still kneeling,
With bared knees, on ground that is blest,
Shall my soul's full freedom assure.*

The Neapolitan fisherman before leaving his home bares and bows his head before the shrine or image of the Virgin, with the following salutation:

Buonni te vienga, Regina,
Prima a taji ch' ai vecchin;
Ju muar' te cegn', ju ciel t' ammant,
Patr', Fijjuol e Spirit' Sant!

*All hail to thee, Queen,
Then to the neighbours round;
The sea be thy girdle, the heavens thy mantle,
So grant it, Father, with Son, and Spirit Divine!"*

and at these last words he crosses himself.

His wife during his absence sings her babe to sleep with the following cradle-song:

Quant' è bello a ghi pe' mare,
La Madonna 'ncopp 'a nave,
San Giuseppe a lo timmone,
Gesù Cristo pe' padrone,
L' anguillille pe' marenare:
Quant' è bello ghi pé mare!
Voga, voga, u marenaro!

*See how good it is to cleave the wave,
With our Lady at the bow,
The holy Joseph at the helm,
Christ Jesus for our Master,
And the crew of angels fair:
See how good it is to cleave the wave!
Row, sailors, row!*

The belief of being absolutely safe in one's own bed because of having "two saints at the head, two at the feet, and St. Michel in the middle," is not confined to Italy, but is common to the Roman Catholic populace throughout the world, and takes the form of a prayer often strangely resembling an incantation; the most curious and concise is that common to Sicily:

Ju mi curcu 'ntra stu lettù
Con Gesù supra lu pettu;
Ju dormu e iddu vigghia
Si haja cosa m' arrus bigghia;
'Ntra stu lettù mi curcu iu,
Cincu santi trovu iu,
Dui a la testa, e dui a li piedi,
'Ntra lu menzu San Michele.

2 L

*On this bed I now lay me to rest :
On my breast is our Saviour ;
While I sleep our God watches
Should somewhat arouse me ;
To this bed I return,
Five saints I there find :
Two to the head, to the feet two,
With St. Michel right in the midst.*

"Even Venice, the gay, the sceptical, has its ascetic receipts," says Rubieri, and some of these date back ages. In a codex of the fourteenth century are to be found spells to stanch the flow of blood from a wound, to extract a spearhead, or to drive away fever. Here is a modern formula of salvation :

*Chi la leze, chi la sa,
In Paradiso i ghe andarà ;
Chi no la leze, e chi no la sa,
A casa del diavolo i andarà.*

*He who reads it, he who knows it,
To Paradise shall go ;
Who reads it not, who knows it not,
To the devil's house must go.*

Venice owns another magical prayer which profits him who repeats it nothing, but which enjoys the reputation of being able to save three souls from purgatory. To effect this, however, it must be repeated three times consecutively without making a mistake—no easy task. D. G. Bernoni has published this strange invocation in a pamphlet, and vouches for having taken it down from the mouth of the people, who use it constantly. It is curious enough to be worth transcribing here :

1. E una . . . e una :
E una la luna,
Chi à creà sto mondo,
L' è stà 'l Nostro Signore.
- 2 E dò . . . e dò
L' aseno e 'l bò,
El Bambin e la cuna,
El sol e la luna,
Chi à creà sto mondo
L' è stà 'l Nostro Signore,
- 3 E tre . . . e tre :
I santi tre Re Magi,
L' asino e 'l bò, etc.
- 4 E quatro . . . e quatro :
I quatro Evangelista,
I santi tre Magi, etc.
- 5 E cinque . . . e cinque :
Le cinque piaghe del Nostro Signor,
I quatro Evangelisti, etc.

6. E sie . . . e sie :
I sie gali di Galilea,
Le cinque piaghe del Nostro Signor, etc.
7. E sete . . . e sete :
Le sete alegrezze della Madonna,
I sie gali di Galilea, etc.
8. E oto . . . e oto :
Li oto portoni di Roma,
Le sete alegrezze della Madonna, etc.
9. E nove . . . e nove :
I nove cori de Anzoli,
Li oto portoni di Roma, etc.
10. E diese . . . e diese :
I diese commandamenti de la Lege di Dio,
I nove cori de Anzoli, etc.
11. E undese . . . e undese :
Maria Vergine,
I diese commandamenti de la Lege di Dio, etc.
12. E dodese . . . e dodese :
I dodese Apostoli del Nostro Signore,
Maria Vergine, etc.
13. E tredese . . . e tredese :
Le tredese grazie di Sant Antonio,
I dodese Apostoli del Nostro Signore, etc.
14. E quatornese . . . e quatornese :
Le quatornese stazioni, etc.
15. E quindese . . . e quindese :
I quindese misteri del Nostro Signore,
Le quatornese stazioni,
Le tredese grazie di Sant Antonio,
I dodese Apostoli del Nostro Signore,
Maria Vergine,
I diese commandamenti de la Lege di Dio,
I nove cori de Anzoli,
Li oto portoni di Roma,
Le sete alegrezze della Madonna,
I sie gali di Galilea,
Le cinque piaghe del Nostro Signore,
I quatro Evangelista,
I santi tre Re Magi,
L' asino e 'l bò,
El Bambin e la cuna,
E sol e la luna,
Chi à creà sto mondo,
L' è stà 'l Nostro Signor.
- 1 And one . . . and one :
The moon is one.
He who created this world
Was our Master and Lord.
- 2 And two . . . and two :
The ass and the ox,
The Child and the cradle,
The sun and the moon.
He who created the world
Was our Master and Lord.
- 3 And three . . . and three :
The holy three Kings,
The ass and the ox, etc.

4. *And four . . . and four :*
The four Evangelists,
The holy three Kings, etc.
5. *And five . . . and five :*
The five wounds of our Lord,
The four Evangelists, etc.
6. *And six . . . and six :*
The six cocks of Galilee,
The five wounds of our Lord, etc.
7. *And seven . . . and seven :*
The seven joys of our Lady,
The six cocks of Galilee, etc.
8. *And eight . . . and eight :*
The eight gates of Rome,
The seven joys of our Lady, etc.
9. *And nine . . . and nine :*
The nine choirs of angels,
The eight gates of Rome, etc.
10. *And ten . . . and ten :*
The ten commandments of the Law of God,
The nine choirs of angels, etc.
11. *And eleven . . . and eleven :*
Mary Virgin,
The ten commandments of the Law of God, etc.
12. *And twelve . . . and twelve :*
The twelve Apostles of our Lord,
Mary Virgin, etc.
13. *And thirteen . . . and thirteen :*
The thirteen graces of St. Anthony,
The twelve Apostles of our Lord, etc.
14. *And fourteen . . . and fourteen :*
The fourteen stations of the cross, etc.
15. *And fifteen . . . and fifteen :*
The fifteen mysteries of our Lord,
The fourteen stations of the cross.
The thirteen graces of St. Anthony,
The twelve Apostles of our Lord,
Mary Virgin.
The ten commandments of the Law of God,
The nine choirs of angels,
The eight gates of Rome,
The seven joys of our Lady,
The six cocks of Galilee,
The five wounds of our Lord,
The four Evangelists,
The three holy Kings,
The ass and the ox,
The Child and the cradle,
The sun and the moon :
He who created the world
Was our Master and Lord.

This so-called "prayer," which surely has a strange resemblance to the old nursery rhyme of "The house that Jack built," is met with in different forms throughout Italy, and is repeated with devout faith in its efficacy; but should a single slip be made,

not only is it supposed to fail in producing the desired result, but heavy misfortune will fall upon the hapless suppliant, who will obtain a curse in the place of a blessing.

It is, however, to Sicily we must go to realize to what extent superstition and religion can be carried even at the present day. The popular songs, to start with, especially the cradle-songs, abound with allusions that bring down things sacred to trivial domestic details. In one song the Madonna is described as weaving, while the Holy Child tangles her work; in another she is setting out to visit St. Anne, and the Child Jesus begins to cry because He wishes to accompany her: His mother takes Him with her, but warns Him He must be careful and not break His grandmother's loom, as otherwise she could no longer work. Again, His mother goes to the fair to buy flax—Jesus wants a fairing too; she buys Him a tambourine, and the angels descend from heaven to watch Him playing upon it. These are merely instances of how familiarly sacred personages are regarded, but when we come to spells and magic practised in the name of religion our wonder grows.

To wear a scapulary is by Sicilian women considered a sure talisman against every evil both in life and after death. There is a mysterious word transmitted by Christ which must be repeated three times at night, three times by the way, at home, and in the field by everyone who wishes to escape misfortune, but what this word is I have been unable to ascertain. There is a special saint to resort to for every need, just as there is a remedy for every disease to be obtained from the chemist. The Sicilian appeals to S. Pasquale and S. Martino to save his flocks and herds from the evil-eye; to S. Lucia for healing for his own eyes; to S. Vito to render dogs powerless to bite; to S. Barbara and all the St. Johns in the calendar for preservation from lightning; to S. Pantaleone in order to gain a lucky number in the lottery; to S. Simone that his enemies may be struck blind and otherwise injured; while the housewife applies to S. Francesca di Paola to make her bread rise well, and to St. Nicholas to provide a suitable husband for her daughter. But all these prayers must be accompanied by a magic rite in order to be

efficacious ; for instance, in praying S. Lucia for healing or restoration of eyesight, the sign of the cross must be made three times over the eyes with a slice of garlic ; the bread, to rise well, must have the same sign made over it with the hand ; and if you wish S. Giuliano to injure your enemy, you must repeat the prayer for that object (which, by the way, closely resembles the Venetian orison before quoted) three times without slip or mistake ; otherwise the curse would fall on yourself instead of your enemy.

Nothing, however, comes up to the strange practice of the so-called *culto dei corpi decollati*, which still holds good in Sicily, and consists of invoking as patron saints the souls of those who have been executed for murder. It is difficult to say whether this worship is founded on the innate hatred of the Sicilian populace for all that has to do with government and justice as ordained by law, leading them to side with the culprits, or, as they think, victims ; or on the supposition that the condemned criminal, being in a lucid state of mind, and seeing death imminent, avails himself of the opportunity given him for confession and absolution, and thus assures the salvation of his soul. In any case, this peculiar form of devotion is common in the island, and Pitré, in one of his books on Sicilian customs, says that at Paceco, a village of Trapani, a lively devotion is entertained for a certain Francesco Frusteri, a labourer, who was condemned to death for having killed his mother with a blow from an axe.

Those who have committed suicide are also invoked, from the belief that before taking their lives they have sought and obtained God's forgiveness.

The following, in which a girl implores these souls to give her lover so many blows as will not kill him, but merely induce him to return to his old love, is an instance of these fierce invocations :

Armi di li corpi addicullati,
Tre biati ammazzati,
Tre biati 'mpisi,
Tre biati annigati,
Tutti novi vi junciti,
Tanti e tanti cci ni dati,
Mortu 'nterra lu lussati,
Per campari e non muriri,
E ppi purtari 'i cosi o nè parire.

Souls of headless bodies,
Three blessed murdered ones,
Three blessed hanged ones,
Three blessed drowned ones,
All nine united give
Such a many blows,
As on the ground him stretch,
In life, but not in death,
And then return him to me.



Some Hull Merchants' Marks.

COMMUNICATED BY THOMAS SHEPPARD, F.G.S.



HARLES FROST, F.S.A., who died in 1862, was one of Hull's most prominent antiquaries, and accomplished much by his researches in local antiquarian matters, by correcting the mistakes of previous writers, as well as by placing on record numerous interesting facts "for the assistance of the future historian." He first appeared before the public as an author about 1815, but is undoubtedly best known from his *Notices Relative to the Town and Port of Hull*, an illustrated quarto volume, which appeared in 1827, and contained much new information relative to the earlier period of the existence of the "third port." Another valuable though less known work was published in 1831. This was an *Address delivered to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Kingston-upon-Hull, on November 5, 1830*, containing a full account of the works of previous Hull authors.

The present writer has recently secured the MS. of an unpublished paper, which was prepared by Mr. Frost in 1839, from which the following notes are largely drawn. It contains many interesting items worthy of being permanently recorded. In the Hull Museum is a large chart of old Hull merchants' marks, from which the accompanying illustrations have been prepared.

In modern times the term "merchants' marks" is familiar only to mercantile men, who have long been in the habit of adopting certain arbitrary characters or devices to designate the ownership of particular goods, their manufacture, or the various qualities of their workmanship. "Some of these vocabularies and characters," says the writer of an

article in the *Law Magazine* for August, 1839, "are so peculiar as to be utterly unintelligible beyond the sphere of their immediate application, and not unfrequently beget a ludicrous association of ideas in uninitiated minds." "In all cases," says the same writer, "the reliance placed upon them is most implicit, and from the foreign and wholesale commerce of the greatest mercantile houses, down to the more humble retail dealer, any violation of good faith in the employment of them cannot but be attended with most prejudicial consequences. Whenever such a violation occurs it may be very properly regarded in the twofold light of an invasion of a private right and a fraud upon the public."

The law of England, which provides a remedy for every injury, has thrown its protection over the use of these symbols for commercial purposes by extending its aid to prevent their piracy. An instance of judicial recognition of the right of individuals to assume exclusively peculiar marks occurred so early as the twenty-second year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in the following case related by Mr. Justice Doddridge: "An action was brought upon the case in common pleas by a Clothier, that whereas he had gained reputation by the making of his Cloth, by reason whereof he had great utterance to his great benefit and profit, and that he used to set his mark to his Cloth, whereby it should be known to be his Cloth, and another Clothier perceiving it, used the same mark to his ill-made cloth on purpose to deceive him, and it was resolved that an action did well lie." Courts of equity, as well as law, have in various instances of more recent occurrence supported the principle of this decision.

Mr. Frost's object in writing the paper, however, was not to enlarge upon the legal rights which clothe the adoption of merchants' marks, nor to inquire into the use now made of peculiar symbols for mercantile purposes, but rather to investigate the causes to which may be attributed the respect paid to these marks during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when they were considered to be of sufficient importance to be worthy of a place, not only in the fronts of houses, but in painted glass, upon tomb-

tones, and on monumental brasses. "Mr. Jackson, after drawing a comparison between the merchants' marks of the Middle Ages and the ancient runic monograms, from which he supposes them to have been derived, says: 'The English trader was accustomed to place his mark as his "sign" in his shop-front in the same manner as the Spaniard did his monogram; if he was a woolstapler, he stamped it on his packs; or if a fish-curer, it was branded on the end of his casks. If he built himself a new house, his mark was frequently placed between his initials over the principal doorway, or over the fireplace of the hall; if he made a gift to a church or a chapel, his mark was emblazoned on the windows, besides the knight's or the nobleman's shield of arms, and when he died his mark was cut upon his tomb.'"

It was in reference to the remarks contained in the latter part of this extract that Mr. Frost felt anxious to promote an inquiry into the history and application of merchants' marks in the hope that it might lead to a satisfactory solution of some such queries as the following—viz.: Were merchants' marks used exclusively for commercial purposes, or did they, under certain circumstances, become indicative of rank on the bearer, and if the latter, were they used as substitutes for armorial bearings, or might they consistently be placed upon the same memorial with heraldic shields? But supposing that under any circumstances the mark of the merchant could be used in such a manner as to indicate his rank in society, or his importance in the commercial world, why, it may be asked, should not the printers' marks, which were equally exclusive, and which have given rise to much ingenious learning and speculation, and the marks adopted by various other traders, have been also recorded in testification of the celebrity of those who had acquired good report in their immediate callings, in the exercise of which the use of peculiar symbols had become necessary? The latter question may at once be answered, so far as regards monumental records, if the observation of Mr. Dawson Turner in his "*Historical Introduction*" prefixed to *Cotman's Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk* be correct. According to that antiquary, merchants or burgesses were probably

the only class of laymen represented on monuments except the military. "These," says he, "are chiefly to be found in borough towns, or the parochial churches of large commercial counties, where the woollen manufacture flourished."

In this country the marks of merchants are yet frequently to be found, not only on tombstones, but on the stained glass of church windows, and occasionally along with heraldic bearings in religious houses, as we learn from Pierce Ploughman's Creed, wherein the following description is given of a richly decorated window in a Dominican convent :

Wide windows y-wrought, y-written full thick,
Shining with *shapen shields*, to shewen about,
With *Marks of Merchants* y-meddled between,
Mo than twenty and two, twice y-numbered ;
There is none Herald that hath half swiche a Roll.

A correspondent in vol. ix. of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (from whom Tickell, in his *History of Hull* (p. 831) has borrowed, nearly verbatim, the greater part of a note on Merchants' Marks without making any acknowledgment), speaking of substantial tradesmen and capital manufacturers, says : "They very modestly forebore coat-armour without warrant, nor assumed such as did not belong to them." As a general proposition, it may correctly be stated that merchants who had adopted marks, which in the course of an extensive and honourable business had acquired reputation and character, had recourse to the same means of perpetuating these symbols as were used for handing down, perhaps to an unworthy posterity, the hereditary heraldic honours which were originally conferred as the reward of merit. The distinctions of rank during the Middle Ages were more marked than at present, and the business of a merchant was regarded by the nobles and gentry as derogatory to their character and dignity. But the merchant, on the contrary, had a pride in perpetuating the insignia of his trade, and his mark was oftentimes submitted to after ages on sepulchral brasses.

The earliest instance of this kind that Mr. Frost met with is that of William Bittering, who was Mayor of Lynn several times, and the first time in the year 1531. His tombstone in St. Nicholas' Chapel, Lynn, is the most ancient and most remarkable in

the whole church, and is covered with brasses finely engraven.

The instances where merchants have borne coat-armour are not very frequent, but in proof that a title to bear arms was not incompatible with mercantile pursuits we have only to refer to the case of a Hull townsman, William de la Pole, the first Mayor of Hull, whom Edward III. styled "Dilectus Mercator Noster," and "Mercator Regis," who bore the arms which have since been handed down to the noble family of Suffolk.

It was not uncommon for merchants who had no coat-armour of their own to have upon their tombstones, in addition to their marks or monograms, the arms of the companies of which they had been members, or of the towns of which they were burgesses. In the church of Holy Trinity, Hull, may be seen the arms of the Merchant Adventurers,

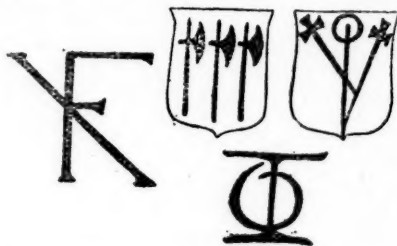


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

as well as the monogram of Joseph Field, a Hull merchant, upon his tombstone, near the south wall of the west end of the church (Fig. 1). He died in December, 1627, having filled the office of Mayor of this borough in 1603 and again in 1614. The facts adduced must have fully established the position that merchants' marks were not merely employed for the convenience of trade, but that they acquired character, and became entitled to attention and respect, in proportion as those by whom they were adopted accumulated wealth and obtained rank in society. Nor can it be surprising to find the prosperous merchant desirous of transmitting to future ages, along with his name, the device he had chosen to be associated with it, through good report and evil report, in all his various commercial transactions. We have seen that this feeling was not merged even in the

pride of heraldry, and, indeed, if proof were wanting to show that the "merchants' mark," as well as the "shapen shield," was indicative of honourable distinction, the coeval testimony of Pierce Ploughman's Creed, which associates them together, and applies to both the observation, "There is none Herald that hath half swiche a Roll," may be deduced as decisive of the question.

The mark of the merchant corresponding thus, as an emblem of distinction, with the heraldic shield of the noble, it cannot be matter for surprise that it should be found in the windows of churches and of religious houses in commemoration of acts of bounty and munificence exercised in the cause of religion or charity. In the windows and painted panels in the roofs of the churches of Holy Trinity and St. Mary in Hull might be seen in former times in numerous places the coat of arms, consisting of three axes and merchant's mark on separate escutcheons, of, amongst others, John Tutbury (Fig. 2), one of our wealthiest and most influential merchants, who, having filled the office of Mayor for the first time in 1399, was again elected to that high station for the fifth time in 1432. De la Pryme, in his MS. history of these two churches, has noticed various instances in which the bounty of this merchant was liberally extended to both, and he has also pointed out several places in each, where even in his time the arms and mark of Tutbury, occasionally accompanied by his monogram, and sometimes by his initials disjunctively, were to be seen. At present his mark and arms remain in one place only in the church of Holy Trinity, carved in the woodwork at the west end of the seat on the south side of the chancel. The devastation committed at the time of the Reformation, in the destruction of the windows, as well as other parts of the churches of Holy Trinity and St. Mary, has obliterated many records of the liberality of the merchants, whose marks were at one time to be seen in various parts of the stained glass. A few simple marks yet remain visible in the south windows of the chancel and of the transept of Holy Trinity Church, but they are insignificant in size, and without name and date. A more curious specimen than those which now remain was removed from the east

window and placed under the care of the Vicar, who allowed Mr. Frost to make a copy. It contains upon an escutcheon, supported apparently by a Turk and a Greek,



FIG. 3.

the mark evidently of a Merchant Adventurer, formed partly by the letter H (Fig. 3); but although the date (1582) is placed over the escutcheon, it is impossible now to ascertain whose bounty it was meant to record.

(To be concluded.)



Boated Hounds.

By J. A. RUTTER.

(Concluded from p. 242.)



It is well known that the followers of the Conqueror, loosely spoken of as "Normans," comprised natives of various lands outside Normandy.

It would not, therefore, be surprising if their castle works exhibited variations derived from their original seats. Perhaps some of our historic antiquaries will trace for us the family tree of these castles with banked citadels. It may be observed that most of them occur in the West of England. Merdon and Downton are recorded to be the work of Bishop Henry de Blois.

To him also is attributed the first fortification of Bishop's Waltham, where earthworks of the same type, I think, have been nearly

obliterated by the erection of a mediæval house on a magnificent scale.

Meanwhile one simple explanation may be offered of their divergence from the mound type. If a castle-builder desired his citadel or inner ward to give large accommodation he had several alternative courses. If he could find a site naturally adapted to his purpose, all was easy; otherwise he must either throw up a gigantic mound or must be content merely to raise the edge of the desired enclosure by a bank. The latter course would seem to meet all requirements. It would oppose to an enemy a scarp as steep and lofty as those of most mounds, while it would allow of any required area for domestic buildings; and these, sheltered by the great bank, would be at least as safe (from fire, for example) as if raised bodily above the surrounding level.

Anyone who examines many castle sites will soon find that the builders' aims were as diversified as those of any modern architect's customers. While some were not content without piling their citadel to an immense height, even though its summit should give room for nothing larger than a pigeon-house, others seem to have cared only for a very slight predominance of the citadel over its appended courts. Of the first class, Launceston may be called almost an absurd extreme. Here Nature had provided a rocky tor, so steep and lofty as to require hardly any touch of art. Yet the builder was not content to cover the top with a dwelling; he deliberately sacrificed accommodation to ultra-security, and erected three concentric rings of masonry on the confined area, the actual living-space resulting being *one* small room! At the other extreme Norwich may be mentioned, where the huge mound (how far artificial may be doubted) has but a very slight advantage over its base-court. Perhaps here the present modern walls of masonry were preceded by a parapet-bank.

In *Notes and Queries* I claimed that links of connection between the mounded and the banked citadels might be shown, and instanced Old Sarum. In that case not only is the inner enclosure surrounded by high banks, but its interior is considerably above the outer or city wards. How far this is due to the natural dome-shape of the

chalk hill, and how far to artificial raising, only excavation can prove. Of course, the site highest by Nature was chosen for the banked citadel, but in most cases there seems no reason to think that the enclosed space was further raised.

Sometimes, owing to the nature of the ground, a citadel will present from several points of view the appearance of a great mound, while on approaching it from the base-court one finds it has but a slight predominance there. This is so at Norwich, above mentioned. Another good instance is Castle Bytham, where the lack of superiority in height is made up by a *double* line of bank and ditch between the citadel and its court—an almost unique feature—besides the parapet of the citadel. In nearly all examples known to me the only separation between the mound and its court is a ditch; if a counterscarp bank be present (which is far from being the invariable rule), it is usually carried round the exposed side of the mound only—*i.e.*, the side not covered by a court. The separation by a single ditch occurs even where the difference of level between the citadel and its base-court is little or none.

We may perhaps conjecture that when no bank appears on the edge of a low citadel, it was from the first intended to build a wall of masonry as soon as occasion permitted, a simple palisade being used in the meanwhile. Such cases as Chepstow, Ludlow, Montgomery, and Carlisle may be explained on this theory. (It is not improbable that the original Castle of Montgomery was the moated mound of Hen Domen.) The great walled inner ward of Framlingham, a castle in itself, without reckoning its extensive outworks, shows no trace either of a mound or banks, though it has little or no natural predominance; but here one of the base-courts has a decided earthen parapet.

Sometimes the citadel seems to have been designed to contain nearly all that was to be protected, only a small outer enclosure being added. This was generally where Nature provided a site at once extensive and strong. Coningsburgh may be given as a conspicuous example.

Cases occur where a citadel which, as a whole, has not been raised or banked has part of its edge raised to give it superiority

over the ground beyond its ditch. This seems to be the explanation of the small mound at Clun, and of that at Wigmore, which Mr. Clark apparently treated as a citadel in itself.

A rather perplexing feature in the Scottish "motes" is the alleged rarity of base-courts. Dr. Christison is clearly of opinion that such courts were always exceptional in Scotland; his colleague, Mr. Coles, seems to hold the same view. But Mrs. Armitage is very decided in her contention that a base-court is a necessary appendage to a "mote," and must be presumed to have once existed in all cases. A recent short incursion into Dumfries and Galloway has convinced me that the Scottish observers, having so little in the remains to impress them with the idea of courts, have acquired a sort of preconception which has made them overlook examples clear enough to an English eye. Mr. Coles has frankly told us that he missed altogether the large enclosure at Buittle until his attention was called to it, and yet the river-side scarp of this enclosure is a conspicuous object from the railway. Having recognised its existence, he actually prefers to style it a separate "mote," and splits the great fortress of the Baliols into a Baliol Castle Mote and a Buittle Mote! Dr. Christison seems to reject both, for his map shows no mark at Buittle.

Besides the magnificent example at Urr, and the other admitted base-courts (which I have not visited) at Moffat and Abington, I think Kirkcudbright, Buittle, Rockhall, and Boreland of Parton, among those I saw, may safely be added to the list of courts. It must, however, be owned that the utmost readiness to recognise courts has failed to find such in some cases where vestiges could hardly have failed to survive. Believing, as I do, that a counterscarp-bank was hardly ever carried round that part of the circuit of the mound which the court covered, I cannot but accept a continuous counterscarp-bank as evidence of the absence of a court. The very fine mound at Kirkland, Parton, which appears to be entirely cast up by hand, has such a continuous bank outside its ditch, and no trace whatever of a court. The most favourable site there for a court, indeed, exhibits large shallow hollows, which almost certainly fur-

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nished the material for the mound. At Trostrie, again, where the immense mound is probably in great part natural rock, there is a counterscarp-bank, continuous except where it has been destroyed for the modern homestead; here are several platforms which would afford fine sites for courts—one towards the east in special, with bold natural scarps; but though the ground is probably unaltered by cultivation, not a trace of outworks can be discerned. (Mr. Coles' account of this might mislead a reader. He speaks of a "rampart" running from the north corner for 117 feet. This proved on inspection to be merely a banked channel for the outflow from a modern water-wheel.)

If such examples be really unaltered, how is their want of courts to be explained? Possibly the Norman lords (if they were the builders) had but very few foreign followers, and could not depend on their Galwegian kernes for garrison duty; they might, therefore, let the latter seek shelter, with the cattle, in the natural concealments and refuges of that wild country, while retiring with their own households to the mounds, which a very small force could defend. The mounds might thus be looked upon as the predecessors of the Border peel-towers, few of which seem to have had outworks of a defensible kind.

Mrs. Armitage remarks that Dr. Christison omits all reference to "motes" which had been converted into castles of masonry. I do not remember that he anywhere states this as his intention, but it may be inferred from a passage concerning Auchlane that such was Mr. Coles' deliberate design. This, coupled with the looseness of application of the term "mote," goes far to diminish the value of the doctor's careful statistics of "distribution." On my short visit I had to confine my attention mainly to the most accessible of the cases which Dr. Christison had accepted as proven; but I saw the Castle of Torthorwald, and found it an unquestionable and very fine example of a "mote," *with elaborate outworks*. This is ignored on Dr. Christison's map, apparently because a tower (a good example of the Scottish vaulted type) has been built upon it in later mediæval times. Surely a "mote" is a "mote," whether it has had the addition of a revetment and gate-house of stone, like Buittle, or a battle-

2 M

house, like Torthorwald. Moreover, the divorce between "motes" and "castles" is quite contrary to Mr. Clark, with whose definition Dr. Christison sets out; *his* great achievement was the proof of their close connection.

Incidentally may be noted the very different estimate of the Norman influence in Scotland formed by Dr. Christison (p. 22), and by Mrs. Armitage (p. 275).

The sites of the moated mounds vary a good deal. It is undoubtedly true that as a class they do not occupy the elevated hill-tops so often crowned by the British camps, but some of them are seated on very high ground. If I am right in thinking the central work of the Herefordshire Beacon an addition belonging to the class, it is probably the highest of them. Castle Neroche, in Somerset, which has hitherto been taken for a British camp, is on a site very suitable to that attribution. Others are found perched on bold promontories of the chalk, like Ellesborough and Totternhoe. The great mote at Boreland of Borgue, in Kirkcudbright, is on a high bleak summit.

The methods adopted in the addition of masonry to these earthworks varied as much as their original designs. A favourite device was that known as the "shell-keep," a useful term, though objected to by the writer of the *Quarterly* article before referred to. This itself admitted of variation between such a case as Clifford's Tower at York, hardly distinguishable from a closed tower, and such as Coningsburgh or Framlingham—Norwich might probably be added—which were large walled courts. Whether so walled at first or not, regular tower-keeps were often added to the natural or artificial mounds. In fact, if a mound existed it was almost sure to be selected as the site of the keep-tower. The only exception I know is Bramber, if the tower there was really a keep. At Coningsburgh the fine late Norman tower is niched into the earlier shell of wall; at Norwich the vast keep is on the citadel mound, which would afford space for a commodious court as well; and even where the mound was wholly artificial, as at Guildford, Bungay, Clun, Christchurch, or Ewias Lacy (Longtown), the tower was perched upon it. Sometimes, as at Ewias Lacy, the

tower covered the whole top; more often space for a small court remained. The boldest course of all was taken when, to utilize as much as possible the raised area provided by the earlier fortifiers, the masonry tower was thrust to the edge and slope of the mound, where it clung like a dragon to a helm. Guildford and Clun are such cases, and I think Chilham approaches to the type.

The fact that "turreis" and "mota" frequently co-existed seems to upset Mr. Round's argument as to the nature of Gloucester Castle (Geoffrey de Mandeville, p. 330), so far as the mound is concerned. Guildford may be called a combination of tower and shell.

It is worthy of note that the exceptional type of earthwork to which I have drawn attention (where a banked enclosure takes the place of the normal mound) seems to have been usually provided with an exceptional type of tower in masonry. This was massive but very small, and obviously intended only as a last security, not as a dwelling. Such towers are found at Merdon, Castle Combe, and Ludgershall. They are, of course, only distinguished from other small keeps by their relative inferiority to the general scale of the works, and by the simplicity (so far as can be judged from the slight remains) of their arrangements. The work known as the donjon at Exeter, now destroyed, was probably of this type.

When castles were added to existing fortifications of towns, they present a fresh set of problems. The position selected was almost always on the line of the original defences, not within them. A reason may be found for this without resorting either to the theory that the castle was intended to strengthen the town or to Mrs. Armitage's view that the position resulted from distrust of the inhabitants. Castles, I take it, were placed on the enceinte of towns, as keeps were placed on the enceinte of castles, and from the same motive—viz., a wish to preserve communication with the open country to the last. Had the citadel been enveloped by the outworks, the capture of the latter would have imprisoned the former in a ready-made contravallation, and rendered either escape or relief almost impossible.

In many cases Domesday records the

clearance of sites for castles by the destruction of houses; Sir Henry Ellis long ago collected several such instances. In other cases a destruction is recorded whose motive is not specified, but was probably the same—at some of the western towns, for instance, as Exeter and Lidford.

In other places, where the ground allowed, the castle was annexed to the outside of the original defences; this seems to be the case at Caerleon, besides the instances mentioned by Mrs. Armitage. I do not understand in what sense the castles of Carlisle, Durham, London, and York are said by Mrs. Armitage to be outside their towns; at York, as she notes, part of the town was destroyed to furnish the castle site, and the Tower of London was inside the city wall. What was the condition of Carlisle before the building of the castle probably no one can tell, but its site is such as would be earliest occupied. Durham Castle lies between the Cathedral and the town.

A rather curious feature is the disturbance of original lines where no consideration of space seems to have operated. If William the Conqueror pulled down a stretch of London wall for his Tower, as alleged, what was his motive? The White Tower itself stands some feet within the line of the old wall, as is proved by a fragment which has been disinterred; the projection of the outworks beyond that line seems mainly due to the great ditch of Longchamp. What had William to substitute for an outwork that was better than a Roman wall? (When will Mr. Round favour us with some information about that "Ravengerus" who, according to his theory, held the inner ward of the Tower while the Mandevilles held the keep?) Why do the Castle works at Wallingford bulge slightly beyond the straight line of the strong ancient rectangle?

It is just possible that the case of Exeter throws some light on this question. Whatever the nature of the town defences which William found there, it seems evident he accepted their lines to define two sides of his castle. The nature of the ground hardly left him any alternative. Prescription has always had immense vitality in England. The outer ditch of the Castle, once a defence proper to the town, has always been claimed by the

citizens, and their hold of the Northernhay Walks, alleged as a usurpation on Duchy rights by Norden in 1617, has been maintained to this day. Meanwhile the enclosed area itself, annexed to the lordship of Bradninch, was, as it were, cut out of the city by a Shylock-incision; but its defences towards the town have been so completely obliterated that most writers seem unaware that the present castle was but the citadel of a much larger enclosure. Was it to bar such a possible survival of inconvenient rights that the old works were so often broken through?

In her list of Norman castles Mrs. Armitage seems to have overlooked the evidence that what Domesday refers to as Wareham Castle, whose site was obtained from the church, was really Corfe. This, however, does not affect her argument, as it is evident that the upper ward of Corfe, on which the tower keep stands, had the characteristic predominance of a mound, and was no doubt the citadel of the Conqueror's castle. (Mr. Bond's idea that the tower might be his work seems untenable.)

She recognises an example of the wooden erections with which the "mottes" were crowned at Penwortham. On reference to the paper in the *Transactions of the Lancashire Historic Society* cited by her, which, as she observes, is not very clearly written for our purpose, I doubt much whether the recognition is justified. The writer clearly implies that no trace of a palisade round the edge was found, though he thinks it "may" have existed; the circular building which he describes seems to have been merely one of several apartments; the roofs were thatched—not a very likely covering for a building intended to be defensible; and such artificial raising as the hill had undergone appears to have been thrown over the remains of the wooden erections. Most likely, therefore, these were of a date earlier than the occupation as a castle.

Her appropriation of the word "bretasche" to the wooden erections crowning the mounds may also be questioned. Did it not apply to any breastworks, whether on the mound or the bank of the court? Mr. Round treats its use by Wace for buildings of the date of the Conquest as one of his anachronisms (*Feudal England*, p. 406); from which I

infer he would limit it to the timber hoardings which reinforced the stone battlements of later days. Was the word ever employed for the erections intended as dwellings—such elaborate structures, for instance, as that described in the extract from a chronicler of Ardres paraphrased by Mr. Freeman? (*Historical Essays*, Fourth Series, p. 188).



Mediæval Trading Life.

BY ISABEL SUART ROBSON.

CHANGE is Nature's law, and nothing exemplifies the fact so thoroughly as the history of our country's trades and handicrafts, with their numberless fluctuations in method, material, and locality. Some have changed their names altogether; some have merged themselves into other trades; some have been swept away entirely, as being no longer needful to the pursuit of business or pleasure. Many trades have, however, survived, and grown to such proportions that their insignificant beginnings might well provoke a smile had we not a little regret for the lost quaintness and simplicity which appertained to "the day of small things."

The trading quarters of a mediæval town must have been picturesque in the extreme, wanting neither in variety, colour, nor life. To and fro went the merchant in his distinctive garb, and the various craftsmen, their degree indicated by cap and jerkin; cowled monks and barefooted friars were conspicuous among the foot-passengers, whilst riding, insecurely enough in the rough roadway, might have been seen the rich burgher "yclothed in the livery of some great and solemn fraternity," or the knight on his gaily caparisoned horse, picking his way carefully to some favourite armourer's. Shops of all kinds, like little booths, opened their fronts upon the street, whilst their brightly-painted signs swung gaily in the breeze.

In towns of importance, each calling had its special quarter; the memory of this custom is perpetuated for us in London by

distinctive names still in use, such as Wood Street, Milk Street, Soper's Lane, now Queen Street, the resort of the grocers in early days; Silver Street, Ironmonger Lane, the Poultry, and old Fish Street. Cordwainer's Street was the shoemakers' quarter; in Old Change were the "moneys." Bakers from the old capital of breadmaking—Stratford-atte-Bowe—came daily to Bread Street bringing their loaves in long carts. "At London," we read in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, "there was a careful commune when no carts came to town with bread from Stratford." Success and popularity in any special branch of industry had its temptations in mediæval days as in ours; the breadmakers of Stratford sometimes allowed themselves to fall into the error of giving short weight and inferior bread, for we read that Sir Hugh Bigot, Lord Mayor in 1257, made an example of certain bakers guilty of such malpractices, "by setting them upon a tumbrell, wherein they were exposed to the derision of the tradesmen of Cheapside."

London in Plantagenet times was all included within the city walls; beyond were pleasant gardens belonging to the burghers, meadows and pasture-lands with limpid springs, such as Holy-well and Clerken-well. Inside the walls there were also many vacant spaces convenient for markets and other appliances of trade. Westward from the Tower, which frowned grimly on the river-bank, were rough quays where trading vessels loaded and unloaded; north of it great selds or warehouses extended to the Chepe or Market Street. The Cheapside of to-day was a great thoroughfare even in Saxon times when all the trade of London was confined within its limits. Wonderfully different was it in many points from the nineteenth-century Cheapside, with its stately buildings, its asphalted pavements, and its ceaseless traffic of foot-passengers and rapid convenient vehicles, its roar of many voices and many wheels. The "West-chepen" of the eleventh century had many of the qualities of a rustic fair, held under very disadvantageous circumstances. The narrow street was like an ill-kept country lane—in dry weather rough, uneven, and dusty; in the rainy seasons a quagmire of mud, knee-deep, with a narrow beaten causeway at

each side for foot-passengers. From this street, like limbs from the main body, branched out the special resorts of the different craftsmen, whilst in an open place near to St. Mary Woolnoth was the Woolchurch Haw, where wool and cloth merchants congregated and exposed their goods for sale.

Cornhill and Grasschurch-yard were the haunts of dealers in corn and hay, and on the site now occupied by the Mansion House was the Stocks Market, furnished with permanent stalls appropriated to butchers on flesh days and fishmongers on fish days. The western part of the Chepe, extending into St. Paul's Churchyard, was assigned to grocers, mercers, and lin-draper—the "en" had not then been added—and beyond their quarters extended the long thoroughfare known as the Strand. Here craftsmen of all kinds plied their callings. An old record of the fourteenth century gives a list of the shops running from the corner of St. Martin Lane to the Church of "Our Lady and the Holy Innocents atte Strande," and we find a bookbinder displaying a Saracen's head on his sign-board; a mercer; a girdler, whose craft has now been merged into that of the Birmingham smiths; a pelter or furrier; the Court broiderer; the Court goldsmith; the luminer, or illuminator of books, whom printing has made altogether obsolete; the French baker, with a rose for his sign; the mealman; the lapidary; the parchment maker, a very important personage in mediæval times; the loriner, who made bits and bridles; the spicer, the pepperer, the treaclemonger, who were not yet combined under the general term "grocer"; the pouch-monger, who made pockets and purses; the tapiser, who worked tapestry; the upholsterer and fuller, who dyed and cleaned cloths; the scrivener, whose office it was to write letters, and whom the little knowledge of writing at that time kept busy enough; the apothecary; the barber and the tooth-drawer; the tanner; the goldbeater and the worker in metal; the pewterer; the pinner or pinmaker; and the hampermaker—all these plied their callings and made sufficient livelihood in the leisurely fashion of the period. A combination of trades, or even of different branches of one trade, seems to

have been abhorrent to the spirit of our ancestors, and such a spirit legislative measures did a good deal to cherish rather than to break down.

In the history of early crafts and trading the apprentices played a conspicuous part, having a particular liking for keeping themselves before the public eye. The revels of apprentices by night in the unlit streets were the bane of the poor "doddering watchman's" life, and the Dogberry of those times was a very poor match for his tormentors. During the day it was their custom to parade up and down in front of their master's shop, crying, "What d'ye lack? What d'ye lack?" following up the inquiry with a loud-voiced enumeration of the wares within, and the wonderful bargains to be gained by the buyer who took time by the forelock. Lydgate, in his ballad of *Lickpenny*, refers to this habit of soliciting custom of the passers-by:

Then to the Chepe I gan me drawne,
Where much people I saw for to stand;
One offered me velvet, silk and lawn,
Another he taketh me by the hand.
"Here is Paris thread, the finest in the land;"
I never was used to such things, indeed,
And wanting money I could not spend.

Craftsmen were allowed to display their goods in the West Chepe Market, at the corner of St. Lawrence Lane, upon stalls let for 13s. 4d. a standing, and no little bickering used to take place between street-sellers and shopkeepers, who thought the former damaged their trade. Such bickerings the prentices, who liked nothing better than to hear the cry, "Clubs! clubs! prentices!" many a time fomented into serious quarrels. Chaucer, in his account of Perkin the Reveller, has shown us that their play was often brutal, whilst fierce brawls and deadly fighting only offered special opportunities for amusement; they "would leap from their shops to run after pageants and processions which passed near by"—a predilection which seemed to increase in after-times. A fatal riot on May 1, 1517—called from this circumstance "Evil May Day"—was instigated by a party of these lawless youths. Two thousand or more agreed to celebrate the day by making an assault upon the foreigners in London, and carried out

their purpose with considerable effect in the Flemish quarter before they were dispersed by a strong body of troops despatched by Cardinal Wolsey to relieve the victims. After London, Bristol was the most important trading and manufacturing town of the Middle Ages, closely followed by York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Hull, and Exeter. In these, as in many other towns, the conditions and regulations which governed trades and crafts were on much the same lines as those of London. There were merchant-princes, like the De la Poles of Hull, and the Canynges, Thornes, and Colstons of Bristol, whose reputation was not less than that of the Greshams and Middletons of London, and who did much to extend the trade of England at Rome and abroad.

Outside the towns, throughout the Middle Ages, the monasteries were not only the most civilizing influence, but the great supporters of industrial arts. They must not be regarded merely as religious institutions, where those who desired a quiet and studious life in stormy times might find shelter and seclusion. They were more than that; not only did they, when at their best, discharge the duties of our charitable institutions, our schools, and our hospitals, but they kept learning alive, fostered the domestic arts, and systematically developed manufacturing industries. The rules of many Orders, notably the Benedictines, enjoined on their members a certain amount of manual labour daily. A letter written by Peter the Venerable to his friend St. Bernard refers to such monastic employment of time: "Make a variety of handyworks, with skilful hand and well-instructed foot," he says; "make combs for combing the heads of the brethren, twine needle-cases; hollow out vessels for wine, such as they call justitiæ, or try to put them together, and if there be marshy places weave mats, or, as St. Jerome says, weave little baskets with flags, or make them of wicker." An odd list of employments the old abbot prescribed, but very much more elaborate work occupied the leisure hours in most of the English monasteries, both in Saxon and Plantagenet times. Few were without looms, kilns for burning pottery, and the tools and materials for carrying on work in iron and precious

metal. Not the least advantage derived therefrom was the dignity the monks' example gave to all forms of handicraft. The Abbey of Glastonbury, a certain chronicler tells us, presented in the twelfth century a picture of a vast estate where good returns were insured by industry and perfect organization. It was a pity that this high standard could not be maintained. "The spirit is the life of an institution," says Carlyle, and when the worthy spirit which alone makes its existence a desirable thing grows less worthy the body is doomed. The monasteries may be said to have worked their own destruction, but the training they gave to hundreds who passed through them in youth was not without its fruit, and was indeed the basis of the excellent work done by laymen in Tudor and Stuart times.

Fairs, such important events in the mediæval period, were frequently held at the gates of the abbeys. Many were, in fact, first formed by the gathering of pilgrims about sacred places, and especially about the gates of cathedrals or notable shrines on the feast-days of the saints, to whom they were consecrated. When such buildings were in the open country, or near a village too small to accommodate the influx of transitory visitors, tents would be pitched, stalls set up by provision-dealers, and a centre gradually formed, to which all those who had anything to sell resorted. When the abbeys stood, as at Abingdon, on a navigable river, ships brought up and carried away their merchandize and formed a connecting link between the monks and the great artistic life of the Continent.

Abingdon Fair was one of the largest and most important in the midland counties, and the Abbot made no small profit there as a trader, whilst a considerable income accrued to the monastery from the tolls levied on all those who passed over the roads belonging to it in order to reach the fair. As their riches increased, the monks began to take part in financial business, and even farmed the taxes of various towns. This practice was, however, so "fraught with temptations to worldliness" that a Council of Westminster forbade it, and in Edward II.'s reign it was declared unlawful for a cleric to engage in trade.

Jealousy of foreigners, and of the new methods and materials they introduced, was very rife throughout the early days of handicrafts, and statute enactments were constantly made by the Government in answer to "grievous complaints" of one craft-gild or another. Yet such measures had really little effect upon trade, and in the end our English workmen were glad to accept improvements from abroad as the only means of keeping their own work on a level with that brought into the country from the Continent.

Naturally the progress of arts and crafts made many old industries obsolete, and to gain livelihood trades had to be combined—a proceeding abhorrent to the ideas of our ancestors. We find in the fifteenth century "cordwainers do use the mystery of tanners," and great complaints prevail as to the badness of the leather; hatters, who once gained a comfortable livelihood by making hats "by hand and feet," as they call it, now bitterly complain that their trade is ruined, for "bonnets and caps are fulled and thicked in fulling-mills, and in the said mills the said hats and caps be badly and deceitfully made, to the great damage of the King and his subjects." Even at that early time the great battle between handicraft and machinery had commenced, and handicraft was getting the most damaging blows.

There is always a touch of pathos in the history of industries hustled, as it were, off the busy stage of life by the crowds of improvements and inventions which must follow in the train of civilization: the armourer, a man of immense importance in his time, who owed his deposition to the finding of "villainous saltpetre in the bowels of the earth"; the lumener, whose delicately painted missals and painted volumes were passed by for the printed book; the bowyer and flesher, whose craft of bow-making and feathering of arrows ceased to be profitable; the loriner, whose trade of bit and bridle making has long ago been merged in the great crowd of "Birmingham smiths"; the bader, the hane and the hore, so completely obsolete that though we find them mentioned in a list of tradesmen in old Winchelsea records we are unable to discover what their duties were.

The fate of many industries has, however, been to grow and steadily develop as the years succeed one another. As a certain writer has aptly observed, a nation's history is really the history of the great mass of home-keeping, labouring people, of the changes they have known, and especially by which their daily bread is earned. Such a story, could we but read it with omniscient eyes, would be more thrilling than any romance of war or tale of adventure.

For to every fresh enterprise, every successful experiment, every great deviation from the beaten track, must have gone imagination, patience, perseverance, indomitable will, courage, and a noble disregard of suffering and ill-will, like that of an explorer in an undiscovered country. "The Romance of Trade" is a very true and significant phrase. One thing, however, must especially impress the thoughtful mind after studying any branch of England's handicrafts, and that is the great possibilities lying within the humblest industry, and the inseparable connection between the useful and the beautiful if both are to reach their highest development.

When our forefathers paced to and fro in the quaint narrow streets, or plied the tools of their craft in their gabled wooden houses, or exposed the completed articles for sale in the West Chepe, or round the market-cross, in town, mead and market-place, amid the murmur of the mill beside the stream, and the notes of the bell sounding a summons to the crowded assembly of the town mote, in merchant-gild and craft-gild there was growing up that sturdy industrial life, unnoted and unheeded by knight or baron, which was to be hereafter the mighty structure of England's wealth and freedom. Methods in the course of centuries may have changed, machinery may have driven handicrafts out of existence, except for an inconsiderable survival here and there, and the workman may in many cases have become a mechanical agent, feeling but a faint interest in his work, yet such changes have been the steps by which our country's greatness has been reached. Whatever private views we may hold—and many leaders of modern thought regard the whole history of handicrafts as one of continued degradation rather

than progress—and however we may regret the loss of that individual flavour, if we may use such a term, which old methods gave to completed work, the England of to-day is the outcome of a long series of changes, inevitable because progressive. Let our part

The Antiquary's Note-Book.

AN OLD SILVER SNUFF-BOX.

MR. HERBERT SOUTHAM, F.S.A., of Shrewsbury, kindly sends us the four photographs



be to do the work under our hand honestly and, well, as we echo Browning's stirring lines :

Here and here hath England helped me,
How shall I help England, say?



here reproduced. They are taken from medallions which have been inserted in a silver snuff-box, which dates from about the middle of the seventeenth century—there is no date-mark—and is now the property of Mr. J. C. L. Roche, of Clungunford Hall, Salop, to whom Mr. Southam is indebted for permission to have it photographed.

The box is 3 inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and $\frac{3}{8}$ inch deep. A magnifying-glass shows most exquisite workmanship. Mr. Southam thinks that the medallions were "probably in an older box, perhaps a 'spitting-box.' The engraving is the work of Simon Pass (born 1595?, died 1647), silversmith to James I. His name appears below the portrait of the King."



Antiquarian News.

[We shall be glad to receive information from our readers for insertion under this heading.]

THE collection of civic antiquities in the museum at the Guildhall, says the *City Press*, has been enriched by some interesting "finds." One of them is a brown stoneware mug found in Southwark, and bearing the following inscription: "Thos. Parsle, att ye Sum (sun) and Pump in Bishopsgate Streett, 1709." The jug has been presented to the museum by Mr. F. H. Judson. Strange to say, no hostel bearing the above sign is known to have been situated in Bishopsgate Street. Several coins in an excellent state of preservation have been unearthed in the soil beneath where the office of *Funch* stood in Fleet Street. The coins comprise a George IV. sovereign, half-sovereign, crown, half-crown, shilling, sixpence, and farthing. A George III. penny and two halfpence are also included. Interesting relics closely associated with Fleet Street were found near the same spot. They include two drawings (one a water-colour) of St. Bride's Avenue, while with the drawings was a brass plate bearing an inscription to the effect that St. Bride's Avenue would enable the spire of St. Bride's to be properly seen.

The men engaged in laying new gas-mains in Finsbury Pavement have found some old trunks of trees which were once used as water conduits. The trunks, which were in very good preservation, were barely 4 feet below the surface. They had been hollowed out to a bore of 6 or 8 inches, the trees in some cases being from 4 to 5 feet in girth. One end of each length had been pointed to fit into the hollow of the length to which it was connected, some of the trees being 20 feet or more in length. In the opinion of experts they had been 150 years in the ground.

On July 15 there was offered at the sale-rooms in Covent Garden "a unique collection of typical skulls." An outstanding "lot" was the head of an Indian greatly reduced in size by a peculiar process after removal of the bones, the mouth sewed up to prevent secrets being divulged after death. This made £8 18s. 6d., and the skull of a New Zealand chieftain, the skin tattooed and dried, £12 12s.

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There came under the hammer, too, the collection of Fiji curiosities brought together by Dr. Macgregor, nearly all the clubs and spears having been taken in the action against the cannibal islanders of Viti Levu in 1876. A club with a broken spike was that which killed the leading cannibal chief in the second engagement, and the old flint-lock gun, regarded with great veneration, was kept in the Devil's Temple, Fiji. The series made £48.

SALES.

MESSRS. SOTHEY, WILKINSON, AND HODGE concluded yesterday a two days' sale of coins and medals, the more important of which were the following: Syracuse, B.C. 405-345, decadrachm or medallion, by Kimon, head of Arethusa to left, wearing necklace and earring, weight 667 grains, a fine example of this rare piece, £22 (Borrer); Jerusalem, shekel, struck in the second year of the Jews under Simon Barcochab, A.D. 133-134, the identical coin figured by Madden, £17 (Richards); a fine chased gold snuff-box, presented to W. Wyon by the Czarewitch Alexander, 1839, £12 10s. (Pinnock); and a fine gold and enamel snuff-box presented to the late L. C. Wyon by the Grand Duke Constantine, 1847, £11 10s. The two days' total amounted to £697.—*Times*, July 19.

Messrs. Hodgson and Co. included in their sale last week the following: Stevenson's Works, Edinburgh Edition, 29 vols., £37; Pepys's Diary by Wheatley, 10 vols., large paper, £14 15s.; Florio's Montaigne, 3 vols., Tudor Translations, £11 15s.; Folk-lore Society's Publications, complete set (except No. 20), £23; Benjamin Franklin's Way to Wealth (one of six copies on vellum), £25; Fénelon, Les Aventures de Télémaque, with a series of coloured plates by Moitte, 2 vols., 1785, £43; Naval and Martial Achievements of Great Britain, 2 vols., £20; British Military Library, 2 vols., £19 15s.; Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, 2 vols., £17; Whitman's Masters of Mezzotint, large paper (only fifty printed), £11; Vallance's Art of William Morris, £10 5s.; Louthenbourg's Scenery of England and Wales, £11 10s.; Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française, 10 vols., £12; Voragine, Legenda Aurea, 1486, £26 10s.—*Athenaeum*, July 26.

Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge included in their last sale of the season the following important books: Isaac Watts's Divine Songs, first edition, presentation copy to Elizabeth Abney, 1715, £155; Bonifacius VIII., Decretales, Mentz, P. Schöffer, 1465, £40; The Germ, four original numbers, 1850, £35; Drayton's Polyolbion, both parts, 1613-22, £44 10s.; Lydgate's Fall of Princes, MS. on vellum, fifteenth century, £51; I. Watts's Horæ Lyricæ, first edition, presentation copy, 1706, £59; Original MS. of Four Sermons, 1705, £57; A Treatise of Humane Reason, 1675, Dr. Watts's copy, £25; Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, first edition, original boards, 1762, £95; Horæ B.V.M., MS. on vellum, finely illuminated, presented to Canon Jenkins by John Ruskin, Sæc. XV., £380; Savonarola,

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Sopra i dieci Commandamenti, 2 cuts, 1495, £36; Milton's Poems, first edition, 1645, £85; Cowley's Poetical Blossoms, 1633, £35; Lycidas, 1638, £199; Whitney's Choice of Emblems, 1586, £32; Cato Major, by B. Franklin, 1744, £65; Boroughbridge Roll of Arms, 1322, £95; Sarum Missal, Venet., Hertzog, 1494, £380; Estampes en Couleurs, 1885-88, £40; Engravings from Sir T. Lawrence's Works, 50 open-letter proofs, Graves, 1841, £40; Shakespeare's Plays, second edition, with the Smethwick imprint, 1632, £615; another, with ordinary imprint, £60; Caxton's The Royal Book, 1487-88, £1,400; Reynolds's Engravings, 3 vols., £25 10s.; Cowley's Poems, set to music by William King, 1668, £23; Henry Vaughan's Silex Scintillans, 1650, £21; Pope's Rape of the Lock, 1714, £36; Lancelot du Lac, Paris, P. le Noir, 1533, £29.—*Athenaeum*, August 9.

PUBLICATIONS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

Vol. xxxv. (third series, vol. xi.) of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, covering the session 1900-01, is before us—a substantial, well-printed, very fully illustrated volume of 700 pages. The first items in a long list of contents which claim notice are the accounts given of the various excavations undertaken by the Society. These include explorations of the earthworks adjoining the Roman road between Ardoch and Dupplin, Perthshire; of the Roman camp at Lyne, Peeblesshire; and, most important of all, of the Roman station of Camelon, near Falkirk. The description in each case is ably done, and the illustrations are strikingly good. Another valuable contribution, of a quite different kind, is a full bibliography of travels in Scotland, compiled by Sir Arthur Mitchell, who remarks most justly on the value to historians of the knowledge which is often supplied by local and contemporary narratives of travel. Mr. F. R. Coles continues his "Report on the Stone Circles of the North-east of Scotland"; Dr. Anderson gives notices of nine Caithness brochs excavated by Sir Francis T. Barry, Bart., M.P.; and Mr. Thomas Ross discusses "The Sculptures in St. Mirren's Chapel, Paisley Abbey," and sundry other Paisley inscribed sepulchral slabs. Among the shorter papers and notes, too numerous to be named in detail, may be mentioned notices of various finds, such as urns in Aberdeenshire, bronze ornaments and implements and jet buttons in Sutherlandshire, an ancient kitchen midden excavated in Fife, coins found in Dumfriesshire, and stone axes in Perthshire. The variety and excellence of the letterpress, together with the abundance and equal excellence of the illustrations, are eloquent proofs of the vigour and ability with which the affairs of the Society—now well advanced in the second century of its existence—are conducted.

We have received vol. iv., part 2 (new series) of the *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*. The principal item in a varied bill of fare is Mr. George Neilson's study on "Huchown of the Awle Ryale," which has since been published in a separate form, and was noticed in our July number. Another

contribution of solid worth is the paper on "The Early Christian Monuments of the Glasgow District," by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. The district named is taken to comprise the counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Lanark, within which area there are fourteen localities where monuments of the pre-Norman period are known to exist. Mr. Allen's paper is illustrated with several admirable plates. Other aspects and fields of archeological research are exemplified by Major Ruck's study from a military point of view of the "Antonine Lines as a Defensive Design," and a paper on the little-known "Château of St. Fargeau," situated on the Loing in the Puisaye, a district in the departments of the Yonne and the Nièvre. The château dates mainly from the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, but much of its mediæval aspect was ruthlessly destroyed by a former proprietor, who cut down towers and removed battlements in the most approved Vandal fashion. In a paper on "Mound-Dwellings and Mound-Dwellers," Mr. David MacRitchie returns to a subject which he has made peculiarly his own. Other contributions are "The Temple Barony of Maryculter," by Mr. John Edwards; "Letters from Darien," by the Very Rev. Principal Story, D.D.; and some illustrated and very interesting "Notes on Scottish Costume in the Fifteenth Century," by Mr. Robert Brydall. Altogether, this is a capital volume.

PROCEEDINGS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

THE annual summer meeting of the BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY extended over three days in July, and was held at Tewkesbury. On the first day there was a formal reception by the municipality, when the Mayor, in the course of an interesting speech of welcome, named the chief objects of antiquarian interest in the borough.—In the afternoon the abbey was inspected under the guidance of Mr. H. A. Prothero, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, Mr. A. Hartshorne, F.S.A., Mr. Bannister, and Canon Bazeley, who respectively described the various features of the building.—At the evening meeting, after the annual dinner, the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell gave his presidential address, which dealt with the monastery of Tewkesbury; and papers were read upon the stained glass of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by Mr. W. St. Clair Baddeley; upon the early history of Deerhurst, by Mr. H. A. Prothero; upon the abbey church, by Mr. Bannister; and upon the French rood-screen, by Mr. F. F. Tuckett and Canon Bazeley. The papers were illustrated by lantern slides.

On the second day the members of the society drove to Malvern, where the exterior of the Priory Church, the Priory Gate, etc., were examined, and after the usual morning service the interior of the church was inspected under the guidance of Canon Pelley and Mr. St. Clair Baddeley. The former described the building, and gave an epitome of its history, while the latter gave a charming description of the stained glass. He said that there could be no more lovely contrast in the matter of its windows than the Abbey they had visited the day before and the Priory—the Abbey with its solemnly lovely four-

teenth-century work, glorious in its colouring; and the Priory, later by a hundred years, which had seen a marvellous growth of the appreciation of light, and a desire to realize the beautiful. In all directions, except in colour, there was advance.—After luncheon the Priory Church of St. Giles at Little Malvern was visited, and also, by permission of Mr. W. Watts, the grounds of Little Malvern Court.—The members then drove to Pull Court, where they were entertained by the Rev. E. R. Dowdeswell and Mrs. W. Dowdeswell, and afternoon tea was served.—In the evening a meeting was held at the Town Hall, where further papers were read.

On the morning of the third and last day a meeting was held at the Town Hall, where the place of meeting for next year was discussed. The party then drove to Deerhurst, stopping on the way at Queen Margaret's camp, where a short account of the Battle of Tewkesbury was given by Canon Bazeley. At Deerhurst the members were received by the Vicar, the Rev. D. G. Lysons, and after an inspection of the church and luncheon in the schoolroom, the famous Saxon chapel built by Duke Odda in 1056, and the priory conventual buildings, were examined. Whitefield Court, the ancient home of the Casseys, was then visited, and the archaeologists, having dined at Apperley Court, were entertained to tea by Mr. and Miss Strickland.—The drive home to Tewkesbury closed a very successful meeting.

The annual meeting of the ROYAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE was held at Southampton during the week beginning Tuesday, July 22, under the presidency of Sir Henry Howorth. On the first day, after the formal welcome by the Mayor, the members visited the town walls and ancient buildings of Southampton. At the evening meeting Mr. Emanuel Green read a paper on the Roman station Clausentum, on the site now known as Bittern, which, he said, shows no signs of a military character, but seems simply to have been a large, well-protected dépôt for the export of western produce. Mr. W. Dale exhibited a collection of prehistoric implements found in the neighbourhood of Southampton. On Wednesday the members visited Winchester, inspecting the castle, the twelfth-century church and fifteenth-century buildings of St. Cross, where Mr. J. Bilson gave an account of the hospital and its foundation—Winchester College and Wolvesey Castle. At the College Mr. W. F. Kirby called attention to the brasses. The evening meeting was presided over by Mr. E. W. Brabrook, and Mr. St. John Hope read a paper on "English Fortresses and Castles in the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries," in which the quotation of much Latin and Anglo-Saxon—especially the latter—made the argument, which was directed against Mr. G. T. Clark's conclusions, hard to follow by many of the audience. On Thursday visits were made to Porchester, where Mr. Hope, the Rev. J. D. Henderson, and Mr. Micklethwaite spoke; and Titchfield Abbey, described by the Rev. G. W. Minns, who said it was a house of White Canons, of whom some were unruly. One was charged with spending the night in drinking and brawling; another offender took the fish from the pond. In the evening the members were entertained at a conversazione in the Hartley Hall by the Mayor of Southampton and the

Hampshire Archaeological Society. The ancient maces, silver oar, and other regalia of the town were displayed on a table, and were described by Mr. St. John Hope. He said that Southampton was fortunate in possessing the most interesting series of maces in the whole of the United Kingdom. The earliest which the town possessed was a set of four sergeants' maces, which illustrated in the most remarkable way the transition from the time when the mace was simply a weapon of offence and defence carried about by the sergeants to the period when it simply became a badge of the royal authority vested in the mayor. The Southampton maces and one at Newtown, Isle of Wight, which he wished he had to show them, were the only ones in the country that illustrated this period of transition. The town of Southampton was also fortunate in possessing a silver oar, an emblem of Admiralty jurisdiction formerly exercised by the mayor over the waters adjacent to the town. As to the long sword before them, Mr. St. John Hope said he was not aware that Southampton had any charter or right for a State sword to be borne before the mayor. The weapon before them was a Swiss two-handed sword of a class much in vogue in the middle of the sixteenth century. The town seals were next exhibited, and the speaker stated that the original town seal was of the fourteenth century, and was now preserved at the Hartley College. He made suggestions for its due preservation. Mr. W. Dale described two old record books of the town, known as the "Black Book" and the "Oak Book." The first visit on Friday was to Netley Abbey, where Mr. Micklethwaite gave historical information. In the afternoon Romsey Abbey was inspected, and Mr. Doran Webb described the building; later the party was entertained at Broadlands by the Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley. At the evening meeting papers were read by Mr. W. J. C. Moens on "The Afforestation of the New Forest by the Norman Kings," and by Mr. P. G. Stone on the "Domestic Architecture of the Isle of Wight." On Saturday Beaulieu Abbey and St. Leonard's were visited. At the Monk's Well, Beaulieu, Lord Montagu gave an account of the well's history, and of his efforts to preserve it; while at the Abbey, a Cistercian house founded in 1204, Mr. H. Brakspear was the guide. At St. Leonard's the late thirteenth-century chapel and barn of a grange of Beaulieu Abbey were inspected. Mr. Brakspear again acted as guide, and explained that these granges were practically a farm of the Abbey, but formed, in fact, almost a monastery in themselves. There were four such granges originally in the Manor of Beaulieu, but this was the only one remaining. On the return journey Dr. Munro discoursed on one of the barrows in the forest. Monday was occupied by the business meeting, when a satisfactory annual report was read, and Sir H. Howorth was re-elected President; and by a visit to Winchester Cathedral under the guidance of Mr. St. John Hope, whose able lecture was greatly enjoyed. Tuesday and Wednesday were "extra" days, when excursions were made to Bishop's Waltham, and to sundry places in the Isle of Wight.

The annual meeting of the WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY took place at Chippenham on July 14, 15, and 16. The annual general meeting

was held at the Town Hall, when a satisfactory report was presented, after which various places of interest in the town, including the parish church, were visited under the guidance of the Vicar. The anniversary dinner was held at the Angel Hotel, and the conversazione following it at the Town Hall, when papers were read by Mr. Stephen B. Dixon on "The Recent Discovery of Flint Implements near Marlborough," and by the Rev. E. H. Goddard, in the absence of the Rev. W. Clark-Maxwell, F.S.A., on "The Customs of the Manor of Lacock." On Tuesday, the 15th, there was an excursion, via Derry Hill, Sandy Lane, Spy Park Gateway, Bowden Hill, the Conduit, and Bewley Court, to Lacock, where the church was visited and the abbey inspected. The owner of the latter, Mr. C. H. Talbot, received the party, and described the building. In the evening another conversazione was held, when a paper was read by Mr. W. Gowland on "Recent Discoveries at Stonehenge." On Wednesday there was a tour of inspection of Langley Burrell Church, Draycot Church, Christian Malford Church, Sutton Benger Church, Stanton St. Quinton Church, Kington Priory, and Kington St. Michael Church.

The summer meeting of the ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND was held at Londonderry, July 28 to August 1. A fully illustrated pamphlet, ably prepared by Mr. R. Cochrane, F.S.A., giving notes on some of the places visited, is before us. These places included Inishowen and its neighbourhood; the Greenan of Ailech, Buncrana, and Rathmullen; Dungiven, Banagher, and Limavady, where the much talked of "gold ornaments" were found in 1896; and Maghera, where is the fort of Dungalady, with three lines of circumvallation still distinct. Besides the excursions there were evening meetings, at which many papers of interest—too numerous to mention in detail—were read. In the pamphlet programme already mentioned is an interesting note on the gold ornaments, in which Mr. Robert Cochrane gives an account of the locality in which they were found, describes the objects themselves, and supports the suggestion made by Mr. Arthur Evans that they were votive offerings, though differing from him on the point of date. Mr. Evans suggested a pre-Christian origin, but Mr. Cochrane, having come to the conclusion that the spot where the golden boat was found was the site of an early Celtic church or monastery, is inclined to consider their period as within Christian times, probably the sixth century.

On July 19 the members of the BRADFORD HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY visited the Vale of Mowbray. At Well the president, Mr. Harry Speight, gave an account of the history of the church, and pointed out its chief features. In the village are some interesting old almshouses, with chapel, exhibiting two armorial shields of Neville and Brownlow, Earl of Exeter, by whom they were refounded in the middle of the eighteenth century, being a continuation of an ancient hospital established by Ralph Neville, Lord of Middleham, in 1342. He was a great builder and founder, and it was probably by him that the church of Well was almost entirely rebuilt in the

middle of the fourteenth century. The basement of the old manor-house of this period still exists in the village, an interesting survival of domestic architecture of the fourteenth century. The members were permitted to visit this curious old building, which possesses a vaulted roof, after the manner of the strong houses of the twelfth century. Leaving Well, the party drove to Snape Castle, an ancient stronghold of the Nevilles, Lords Latimer, which continued to be occupied by their successors, the Earls of Exeter, to the early part of the eighteenth century. The chapel, in which Catherine Parr is stated to have been married to John, Lord Latimer, has been restored by the Milbank family, and services are now held weekly in it by the Vicar of Well. The greater part of the castle itself, erected in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is now in ruins, only a portion being occupied by Miss Milbank, and another part as a farmhouse by Mr. James Greaves, to whom the visitors were indebted for the opportunity of inspecting the historic building. The party returned to Masham by pleasant country lanes, and thence to Bradford. In connection with the society a very enjoyable excursion was made on August 4, for the Bank Holiday, under the leadership of Mr. J. A. Clapham, to Grange-over-Sands, from which many places of interest were visited, including Levens Hall, Cartmel Priory, and Holker Hall.



Reviews and Notices of New Books.

[Publishers are requested to be so good as always to mark clearly the prices of books sent for review, as these notices are intended to be a practical aid to book-buying readers.]

A HISTORY OF THE HOUSE OF PERCY. By Gerald Brenan. Edited by W. A. Lindsay, K.C. (Windsor Herald). Many illustrations. London: Freemantle and Co., 1902. 2 vols., 8vo., pp. xviii, 393; x, 495. Price 42s. net.

It is a great pleasure to welcome two more volumes of Messrs. Freemantle's promising series of histories of great houses, which opened so auspiciously with a *History of the House of Douglas*. Mr. Brenan has produced two remarkable and most interesting, as well as substantial, volumes on the history of the most illustrious house of the English nobility. The work is not only an admirable compilation from a vast store of printed matter, but yields abundant proof that the writer has incurred no small degree of well-planned labour in researches among unedited material. It is, in truth, an able contribution to the general history of our country, particularly in the Reformation period. The genealogies are trustworthy and the illustrations delightful.

The first volume opens with an account of how the Percies won foothold in England, and how at an early date they linked their name with Northumberland and Alnwick. The quarrel with John of Gaunt; the earning of the war name of "Hotspur"; the bloody

battle of Otterbourne; the fights of St. Albans, Wakefield, and Towton Field; the fifth or "Magnificent" Earl; the Battle of the Spurs and Flodden Field; Cardinal Wolsey and the sixth Earl; Anne Boleyn and her mock trial; the Pilgrimage of Grace; and the death of the "Blessed Thomas Percy," the seventh Earl, on the scaffold, are but a few of the momentous topics that are dealt with graphically in the first volume. To our mind, the special feature of this volume is the truthful and vivid insight that it gives as to the painful and outrageous story of the treatment of Anne Boleyn, betrothed in the dawn of her early beauty to the youthful Lord Percy. The pathos and the cruelty attending her death have never before been so vividly and truthfully delineated. "No one of his readers," says Mr. Lindsay in his introductory notice, "can fail to be impressed with the degradation to which her royal seducer and judicial murderer descended from a splendid pedestal." Within twenty-four hours of Anne's death on the scaffold, whilst her body was still in its winding-sheet, the crowned satyr was secretly married to Jane Seymour. Another well-weighed paragraph of Mr. Lindsay's brief introduction is quoted, as it entirely commends itself to the writer of this notice (who is not of the Roman obedience) as eminently just. "In respect, too, of the religious schism and resultant changes of the English Church, the Percy history indicates how far worse and inexcusable was the Catholic persecution by Protestants under Elizabeth and James than was that of Protestants by Queen Mary. . . . After every effort to resist his influence, the reader of these volumes cannot fail to be convinced, and, if he is candid, to conclude that our popular school histories, written in the Protestant interest and to flatter national vanity, are far—very far—from veracious."

The second volume, which is about 500 pages to the 400 of the first, has, for the most part, almost as interesting subjects to deal with as those that are found in its predecessor. Such are the stories of the Northern Rising and Sir Henry in the Tower; the youth of the "Wizard Earl"; the Essex revolt and Northumberland's brothers; Thomas Percy and the Gunpowder Plot; the tenth Earl and the navy; Northumberland's last efforts to save the life of Charles I.; and the eleventh Earl and the "Trunk-maker" and "Stonecutter" claimants. The last section about the Smithsons might, we think, have been omitted, for it has really but the flimsiest and almost nominal connection with the ancient historic house of Percy. It is, however, perhaps as well that those who are ignorant of genealogy and descent should know for certain that the present Duke of Northumberland and Earl Percy, though of eminently respectable ancestry, are not really in any way Percies, and gained a revived title and name on the slenderest possible claims, and through the bold effrontery of an immediate progenitor. Sir Hugh Smithson, a London citizen and haberdasher of humble birth, with a shop in Cheapside, purchased a baronetcy in 1660. Sir Hugh, the fourth baronet, married in 1740, after much opposition from his future father-in-law, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, who was eventually heir to the Percy estates. On the death of the seventh Duke of Somerset in 1750, Sir Hugh Smithson succeeded to

the earldom of Northumberland, and obtained a special Act of Parliament to assume the name and arms of Percy. Horace Walpole and the wits of the day ridiculed these pretensions, and called him Earl Smithson. The new Earl Percy bore all ridicule with good nature, and soon gained the opportunity of making himself acceptable to George III. When Pitt formed his Ministry in 1766, the King was most anxious that "Earl Smithson" should be included; but Pitt refused, and to allay the Earl's chagrin promised to support the Earl if he would sue the King for a step in the peerage. A marquise was intended, but the Earl's astuteness and ambition aimed at something more. Both the King and Chatham were astounded at the request for a Dukedom, but eventually it was granted. "Among the nobility," says Mr. Brennan, "the new creation was most unpopular. Over fifty years had elapsed since a dukedom (other than royal) had been added to the English peerage, and the old taunts respecting his Smithson descent were flung in Northumberland's face by a hundred hostile critics."

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A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY I. By W. J. Andrew, F.S.A. Part II. London: *B. Quaritch*, 1901. 8vo., pp. 221-515, and a plate. Price 10s. sewed. The two parts complete, 20s.

The first volume of this work appeared some time ago, and the part now issued fully maintains the high standard attained in the previous portion. The history of the mints and their coins is dealt with in a very painstaking manner, and apart from numismatic interest, this portion of the volume forms very interesting reading for the general reader.

The punishment for uttering false money in the twelfth century seems to us at the present time to be extremely rigorous, but perhaps with good cause. On p. 475 Mr. Andrew quotes a writ of Henry I. addressed to Samson, Bishop of Worcester, and the Barons, both Norman and English, directing them to "swear to uphold the King's money in England, and not to debase it. . . . Also, that no moneyer should exchange money, except in his own county, and that in the presence of two credible witnesses of the same county, and that if he should be taken exchanging money in any other county he should be punished as a false moneyer."

Such an enactment, of course, effectually prevented any expansion of legitimate trade, and thus became a continual source of loss to the majority for the profit of the minority. It is obvious that each moneyer wished to make his particular issues the only currency in his own district; by so doing he would reap a double profit, one on issue and another on exchange.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the present volume is that on the ecclesiastical issues. On p. 364 Mr. Andrew explains the use of the ring (annulet) and the cross as the marks of the spiritual lords in a manner which admits of no further excuse for treating these interesting features "as mere eccentricities or incomprehensible mint marks."

If Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England* be the standard work for the general collector, then Mr. Andrew's

books are no less the standard authorities for the coinages, of the period between 1100 and 1135.

There is a full and very correct index.

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THE TAUNTONS OF OXFORD. By One of Them. Plates. London: *Elliot Stock*, 1902. 4to., pp. viii, 66. Price 10s. 6d. Parchment cover.

The Oxford Tauntons have not produced many men of much mark—if we except Sir William Elias Taunton, Knight, who became Judge of the King's Bench in 1830—but they can boast of illustrious descent on the female side. Through one ancestress they are lineally descended from Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, William the Conqueror, and Edward I. of England; and through another, from Charlemagne and Edward I. of England. The pedigree of the family, as officially recorded in the College of Arms, begins with the Rev. Joseph Taunton, Vicar of Quethiock, Cornwall, who died in 1712. The author of the volume before us gives a narrative pedigree of the family from this date to practically the present time, and the narrative is followed by a series of chart pedigrees, and details of descendants, arms, and quarterings. The writer pins his faith to the College. "To me," he says, "has been reserved the honour of disclaiming that part of the pedigree that is incapable of proof, and of building the part which is true on the solid rock of the Heralds' College"; and having obtained a new grant of arms therefrom, he looks down with somewhat patronizing pity on those descendants of Judge Taunton who "refused to participate in the benefits of the new grant of arms, preferring to cling to the old coat." Far be it from us to comment on family differences, but the fanatical worship characteristic of some genealogists of the Heralds' College, which is not the sole custodian of heraldic truth, strikes us as a trifle absurd. However, the book before us is a solid and useful piece of work, handsomely produced, and illustrated with portraits, plates of arms, etc., which should interest every bearer of the family name.

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THE SACRED BEETLE: A POPULAR TREATISE ON EGYPTIAN SCARABS. By John Ward, F.S.A., with translations by F. L. Griffith, M.A. Sixteen plates and other illustrations. London: *John Murray*, 1902. Demy 8vo., pp. xviii, 122. Price 10s. 6d. net.

In this smaller work Mr. Ward has done for Egyptian scarabs what he did for Greek coins in the handsome volume which we recently reviewed. Here, also, he exhibits the same well-informed enthusiasm and generous display which should earn the gratitude of scholars whose purses do not allow them to become collectors. In many wanderings by the Nile Mr. Ward has gathered several hundreds of these engraved "beetles," the majority of which he here reproduces by actual photography. Their inscriptions are often doubtful, and, as he truly says in justification of his liberal outlay, "from a representation of the actual scarab itself experts may be enabled to suggest the true import of the signs." To what a pitch the skill of interpretation has attained, thanks mainly to the famous Rosetta stone, is here abundantly shown by the work of Mr. Ward's expert coadjutor, Mr. Griffith; and the interest and value of these diminutive *objets d'art*,

which are at once religious tokens and historical documents, are much enhanced by the appropriate pictures of portraits and monuments of the Kings whose reigns they illustrate. For instance, we find on Plate VII. the noble beetle, dating from the twenty-fifth dynasty (690-664 B.C.), beneath which are carved the two royal cartouches (or oval outlines enclosing the symbols of the royal names) of Taharqa and his father-in-law, Piankhy. It is conjectured that the King may not have been of the blood royal, and therefore placed his wife's family title beside his own. His own cartouche is, on the other hand, found on the back of a truly remarkable portrait statue of his Queen, Tirhakah, a lady of pronounced Semitic rather than Soudanese features. Mr. Ward shows us three views of this portrait supplied to him by Sir Charles Nicholson, who obtained the statue at Thebes, and has presented it to the University of Sydney. As Mr. Ward suggests, the recent conquest of the Soudan may enable other relics of this royal pair to be discovered at Gebel Barkal. Thus, after the soldier's grim work, the archaeologist is able to reconstruct the history of the fathers of our race.

Especially interesting are the far older scarabs recording the "Lion Hunt" and "Marriage" of Amenhotep III. (1414-1379 B.C.). Mr. Griffith's transliteration of their inscriptions is in itself a liberal lesson in the Egyptian alphabet. This great lord, whose refined features are shown on a splendid granite head in the British Museum, was the father of the great reformer Akhenaten, at whose city of Tell el Amarna Professor Flinders Petrie not long ago discovered artistic decorations "almost Japanese," and "totally different from conventional Egyptian style."

It were perhaps hypercritical to suggest that, at p. 40, there is an odd confusion of the English ministerial offices, the like of which were held by one Har, "a sort of Lord Salisbury of his time." Every lover of antiquities, especially every Egyptologist, must needs be grateful for this lavishly illustrated and beautifully printed book, which is as good as a cabinet of real scarabs—almost!

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REMBRANDT: A Critical Essay. By Auguste Bréal. Sixty-one illustrations. ROSSETTI: A Critical Essay on His Art. By Ford Madox Hueffer. Fifty-three illustrations. "The Popular Library of Art." London: *Duckworth and Co.* [1902]. 16mo., pp. xxiv, 168, and xvi, 192. Price 2s. 6d. net, leather; 2s. net, cloth, each volume.

Handbooks on Art and "potted" biographies of artists abound, but the charming little books before us are among the very best of their kind. In both volumes biography is subordinate to critical study of the painter's work, and in each case the result is highly satisfactory. Mr. Hueffer has a hereditary claim, so to speak, to write about Rossetti, and he writes with sanity and insight. His conclusion that "Rossetti was indeed an Amateur, because he never really mastered the theory of either of his arts; because he never really and clearly recognised his limits or systematically put his great powers to their best uses, and to these uses alone," is eminently sound. M. Bréal has a fascinating subject, and he has written a very readable and suggestive essay. But good as the essays are, the greatest attraction in

both volumes, we think, is to be found in the numerous reproductions of paintings and drawings. These, considering the small size of the page, are surprisingly good. Note, for instance, in the *Rembrandt*, those on pp. 23, 49, 65, 87, 121, and 123; and in the *Rossetti*, those on pp. 19, 31, 59 (the original design for "Found"), 71, and 89. Many familiar subjects are reproduced, but, on the other hand, in both volumes the illustrations include a large number of drawings and sketches which are but little known. Each selection seems to have been admirably made. We warmly commend these little books, the "get-up" of which is most attractive, but we strongly object to the omission from the title-page of the date of publication.

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We have received the first *Annual Record of the London Topographical Society*, 1900, including the reports of the first three annual meetings of the society, edited by T. Fairman Ordish, F.S.A. The volume is a trifle belated, but is none the less welcome. It contains various matters of interest, and the preface promises for future issues still more varied and interesting items. Besides accounts of the society's meetings, we note among the contents a description of the mediæval remains found at Blackfriars in May, 1900, by Mr. P. Norman, F.S.A.; notes on "The Strand Improvement"; an "Auto-graph Plan by Wren"; and an "Engraving of London in 1510," all illustrated. There is also a useful list of illustrations of buildings demolished or threatened with demolition in 1900. There are good drawings, by the way, of Holywell Street in the volume before us. The council of the society have arranged for the reproduction of the whole of the plan of the roads executed for the Kensington Turnpike Trustees by Joseph Salway in 1811. These plans, in two colours, are wonderfully minute and complete, and full of elaborate detail. The reproduction, which will be in colour, and in all respects a facsimile, will be issued in thirty sheets, the edition being limited to 250 copies. The undertaking should secure the support of every student of London topography. Sheets of the plan, together with copies of the other publications of the society, can be seen at its address, 16, Clifford's Inn, Fleet Street, E.C. The hon. secretary is Mr. Bernard Gomme.

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Among the pamphlets before us are *Garden and Grounds: How to Lay Out and Arrange*, by T. W. Sanders, F.L.S. (London: Dawbarn and Ward, Limited, price 6d. net), a useful and pleasantly-illustrated booklet; the *Annual Report of the Woolwich District Antiquarian Society*, with the papers read for the year 1900-01, a record of useful work and enjoyable outings, containing, *inter alia*, a valuable study on "Maiden Lane, Crayford, and other Maidens," by Mr. A. Rhodes; and Mrs. Gallup's *Bilateral Cypher of Francis Bacon: Replies to Criticisms* (London: Gay and Bird), a form of lunacy best left, we think, severely alone.

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The *Genealogical Magazine* for August contains, besides the usual items of interest, the first part of a very readable paper on "The Age of Heraldry," and another on "The Arms of the English Royal Family." There is also a quaint and amusing "Pedigree in

Rhyme," being portions of a genealogy of a family named Kolls which has been preserved in a rhyming form. In the *Architectural Review*, July, we notice the first instalment of what promises to be a most valuable study of "Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England," by Messrs. E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, with many illustrations. Mr. H. P. Horne writes on "Some Leonardesque Questions," and Mr. Halsey Ricardo sends the second part of his paper on the late John Francis Bentley, with admirable illustrations of the great Westminster Cathedral, and of other works of the lamented architect of that imposing pile. There is also, as a special supplement, a good photogravure plate from a drawing by F. L. Emanuel, of George Court, Strand. The contents of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, July, are varied, as usual. Mr. J. J. Marshall begins a "History of the Fort of Blackwater in Ulster," Mr. E. M. F.-G. Boyle sends "Historical Notes of Limavady," the Rev. Canon Lett has useful bibliographical notes on "Maps of the Mourne Mountains," and Mr. F. J. Bigger, in a note on "Thomas Beggs, an Antrim Poet, and the Four Towns Book Club," revives the memory of an Ulster worthy. In the *Essex Review*, July, Dr. Laver's "Rambling Recollections of Bygone Essex" contain much quaint rural lore. Articles on "Vanishing Essex Villages," "Leytonstone and Wanstead," "John Morley of Halstead," and "Captain Matthew Martin," with many excellent illustrations and the usual quota of notes, etc., complete the new issue of an admirably-conducted quarterly.

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The other periodicals upon our table include the *Architects' Magazine*, July; the *County Monthly*, July and August, with its usually varied bill of fare; *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, July, with some interesting inventories of seventeenth-century clergymen, communicated by Mr. A. R. Maddison, and a capital illustrated note on the Lincoln civic insignia, including the "King Richard II. sword," which tradition says was presented to the city in 1386 by that King, together with the privilege of having it carried before the Mayor and his successors; the *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal*, July, containing continuations of the fifteenth-century churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Mary, Thame, and of the Rev. A. J. Foster's readable "Tour through Buckinghamshire"; the *East Anglian*, July and August; and *Sale Prices*, July 31.



Correspondence.

MAIDEN CASTLES, ETC.

TO THE EDITOR.

THE question discussed by Mr. A. R. Goddard at the British Archaeological Association and in the August number of the *Antiquary* is of much interest, and as it is a question which has attracted my attention for a considerable time, I beg to add my own deductions to Mr. Goddard's. It will be seen that they are opposed to the idea that place-names into

which "maiden" enters are invariably, or even generally, connected with young women. The Feyre Maiden Lane at Nottingham, being a comparatively modern and playful substitution for an older name, is not a case in point; and there are probably several other instances in which it can be proved that "maiden" was first bestowed in its ordinary English sense. But the result of my examination of "maiden" place-names generally, led me to a conclusion exactly the opposite of Mr. Goddard's—a curious illustration of the fact that two or more theories, each apparently sound, but all at variance with each other, may be constructed from the same data. My own notes on this subject were incorporated in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on March 14, 1898,* based upon information not at all in agreement with Mr. Goddard's second premise that "no name at all approaching *maiden* phonetically appears in Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria, Gaelic Scotland, or Ireland." I began by quoting Max Müller's reference to the name "Nine Maidens" frequently given to stone circles in Cornwall, an explanation of which he suggests may lie in "the fact that *mēdn* would be a common corruption in modern Cornish for *mēn*, stone, as *pen* becomes *pedn*, and *gwyn* *gwydn*, etc., and that the Saxons mistook Cornish *mēdn* for their own *maiden*." *Man*, *maen*, or *men*, signifying rock, or stone, is a recognised Cymric word, occurring in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton; and Max Müller's suggestion is that *mēdn*, or *maiden*, is simply a variant of it. The fact that *maiden* is so often applied to stones is strongly corroborative of this theory. Not only are various Cornish monoliths called *maidens*, but there are sea-rocks off the coasts of (1) Antrim, (2) Ayr, (3) Skye, (4) North Uist, (5) Fife, (6) East Lothian, and (7) Berwickshire, all locally known as "The Maidens,"† while the rocks called "The Black Middens" near the entrance to the river Tyne seem to furnish an eighth instance. Further, there are numerous examples of "maiden" applied to a rock, or stone, in the inland districts of Scotland. Aberdeenshire has a "Maiden Crag" not far from the town of Aberdeen, and a sculptured monolith near Chapel-of-Garioch called "The Maiden Stone," "contiguous to a small Danish fort called 'the Maiden Castle,'" and near "a paved road called 'the Maiden Causeway.'" There is a fairly long list of "maiden castles" in Scotland, of which some are known to Mr. Goddard. And the term "Nine Maidens" occurs (1) at Strathmartine, near Dundee; (2) at the northern boundary of Aberlemno parish, Forfarshire; and (3) at St. Fink, to the east of Blairgowrie, Perthshire.§

* See vol. xxxii. of the Society's *Proceedings*, pp. 158-166.

† It seems more likely that the longer form is the older in all these words.

‡ To be quite accurate, those at North Uist are called "The Maidies," and the Fife and Berwickshire specimens are respectively "The Maiden Rock" and "The Maiden Stone," these two last being illustrations of tautology, assuming that *maiden* = *rock*.

§ I have not yet verified the use of "maiden" in this last instance. My reference has the flowery

The fact that *man* and *maiden*—it is an odd coincidence that these English words are so linked together—are applied in such an immense number of cases in Britain and Brittany to stones and stone structures seems to me to support with great cogency Max Müller's inference that *maiden* is a variant of Cymric *man*, *maen*, or *men*. I do not overlook the undoubted occasional use of "maiden" in its English sense, and I observe also that Canon Taylor derives that particle in Maidenhead (formerly Maidenhylthe) from one or other of two words signifying "meadow" and "timber."* But I can see no better explanation than that offered by Max Müller of the application of "maiden" to natural rocks, monoliths, causeways, and castles, these last being all of stone, built perhaps at a time when earthen forts and wooden castles were common.

Colonel Forbes-Leslie, in his *Early Races of Scotland*, 1866, vol. ii., pp. 356-358, has gone particularly into this question. His inclusion in the list of *Castle Moeldyn* in Wales furnishes what seems an actual proof that Max Müller's conjectural *mēdn* is right, unless "Moeldyn" can be shown to have some other meaning. The occurrence of Cymric place-names in districts where English or Gaelic have long been spoken does not constitute a serious obstacle to this theory, in view of the many crossings and re-crossings of races throughout these islands.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

TO THE EDITOR.

In Mr. A. R. Goddard's list of Maiden Castles and Burghs, he mentions a stronghold as existing at York, and asks for further information respecting it. Will he kindly refer with more preciseness to the fortification he alludes to? I am not aware that any stronghold at York is known as a Maiden Castle or Burgh.

T. P. COOPER.

16, Wentworth Road, York.

TO THE EDITOR.

As to "maiden" in topography, it is clear that all the "Bowers and Castles" cannot equally have been "puccles," therefore the term seems inapplicable. We have the well-established word *maidan*, open field, extended plain, apparently surviving with us as Baidan, with variations (B = M). In Irish is *machaira-ratha*, plain of the fort; *magh-dumha*, plain of the mound (for burial)—a tumulus; cf. tump. At Dunstable we have the elevation prefixed as dun or dune—i.e., the Maiden Bower—and the level ground is the magh; it was *maes gwyn*, white plain—i.e., the "magh." There is a Maesgwyn in Merionethshire, and they have Maes Knoll, Maesbury, identical with a supposed magh-dune.

A. H.

Erratum.—Page 227, line 4, for Trojan read Trajan.

expression, "the nine virgin daughters" of a certain saint, but obviously a shorter term must be used in the local speech.

* See *Notes and Queries*, October 8, 1898, pp. 285, 286.